

MASTHANAIAH

THE TEMPLES OF
MUKHALINGAM

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A STUDY ON SOUTH INDIAN TEMPLE ARCHITECTURE

By

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DEDICATED
TO
LORD MADHUKESVARA

FOREWORD

In recent years, there has been an increasing emphasis on the study of art and architecture of individual monuments. The present work of Dr. B. Masthanaiah on the Mukhalingam Temples is an attempt to understand the regional style of art and architecture which manifested itself in the region of Kalinga.

The value of the present work lies in casting the study of art, architecture and iconography in the mould of local history and tradition. Dr. Masthanaiah did intensive field-work in the region and has been able to correctly identify and study exhaustively the stylistic characteristics of the Mukhalingam Temples as wall as their iconographic wealth. As such, this work becomes a welcome addition to the existing monographs on the subject.

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27 - 3 - 1977

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PREFACE

Mukhalingam, now a village of little consequence in the Srikakulam District of Andhra Pradesh, was once the glorious capital city of the Eastern Gangas for over six centuries when their rule was confined to the northern districts of Andhra. It enjoyed royal patronage and its prosperity continued unabated till Anantavarma Chodaganga, the most illustrious of the Ganga rulers, transferred his capital from Mukhalingam to Cuttack in about 1135 A.D. after the conquest of Orissa.

As a mute but living testimony to its hoary past stand three magnificent temples of no little significance at Mukhalingam. They are locally known as the Madhukesvara or Mukhalingesvara, the Bhimesvara and the Somesvara temples. The importance of the style of their art and architecture was first noticed by Mr. Percy Brown. Later the temples attracted the attention of scholars like Dr. Douglas Barrett, Dr. N. Ramesan, Mr. K.V. Soundara Rajan and Prof. M. Rama Rao. In spite of their efforts, a comprehensive study of the Mukhalingam temples against the historical background of the region has not so far been undertaken for the use of the future generations of students and scholars of art & architecture. Hence an attempt is made to preserve the cultural heritage of Mukhalingam before these monuments, already much damaged and subsequently restored and renovated, completely lose their original form.

The first chapter of this work deals with the history of the region around Mukhalingam from the ancient period. An attempt is made here to trace the influences which moulded this region to become one of the important centres of political activity in ancient Kalinga. In narrating the political history of the Mukhalingam region, the main concern has been one of tracing the inter-state relationship and dynastic contacts. These become apparent from the 6th Century A.D. onwards when the Eastern Gangas established themselves in the northern region of coastal Andhra and made Mukhalingam their capital.

In the second chapter an attempt is made to describe the architectural peculiarities of the temples at Mukhalingam. As a necessary introduction to this, a brief resume of the development of temple architecture in India is also attempted. In describing the Mukhalingam temples, the terminology which is now in common

usage in the case of the Orissan temples is also adopted here since the Mukhalingam temples are found to be affiliated to the Orissan style of temple architecture.

In the next chapter the sculptural wealth of the Mukhalingam temples is analysed. Even here the historical setting is adhered to a brief sketch of the characteristic features of medieval sculpture in general is attempted at first. In the analysis of sculpture the main aim has been to describe and to trace the various influences which moulded the sculptural designs of the Mukhalingam temples.

The temples of Mukhalingam are noted for their abundant iconographical wealth. With the aid of the silpasastras, an attempt is made to describe graphically the iconographical peculiarities of the Mukhalingam temples in the fourth chapter.

On the basis of the analysis made in the earlier chapters, an attempt is made in the last chapter to fix the chronology of the Mukhalingam temples. The Madhukesvara temple, the earliest of the three, was built in the middle or second half of 9th Century A.D. and it can be assigned to the period of Anantavarma Vajrahasta who ruled from 850 to 876 A.D. The Bhimesvara temple was built in the beginning of 11th Century A.D. and it can be assigned to the reign of Aniyankabhima Vajrahasta-IV (980-1015 A.D.). The Somesvara temple, the last and the latest of the three, was built in the middle of the 11th Century A.D. during the reign of Anantavarma Vajrahasta-V (1037-1070 A.D.).

In Appendix-1 the chronology and genealogy of the Eastern Gangas, a vexing problem which has so far evaded satisfactory solution in spite of the best efforts of a large number of scholars, is discussed.

In Appendix-II a number of loose sculptures, which have been unearthed in and around Mukhalingam, are noticed and described in detail. The recovery of these sculptures, in addition to the broken pieces of the amalakas, the door-posts, the lintels etc. found scattered all over the area, would go to suggest the existence of a few more temples at Mukhalingam.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

The present monograph is substantially the thesis for which I was awarded the degree of Doctor of Philosophy by the Andhra University in 1975. On the basis of the report of the adjudicators, Prof. D.C. Sircar, Prof. Raymond Allchin and Dr. Douglas Barrett, I have made the necessary revision. I am thankful to them for recommending the award of the Degree.

The thesis is written under the direction of Dr. K. Sundaram, M.A. (Hons.), Ph.D., Reader in the Department of History and Archaeology, Andhra University, Waltair. I am grateful to him for introducing me to the subject and for generally guiding me at all stages.

During the course of my work I received valuable suggestions from various scholars in the field. I express my grateful thanks to them. It is also my duty to acknowledge the help of a number of people who assisted me for the successful completion of the field work at Mukhalingam. My thanks are also due to the photographer Sri A. Apparao and the draughtsman Sri J. Satyanarayana.

I am extremely thankful to M/S. Cosmo Publications, New Delhi, for the keen interest they have shown in the publication of this work.

B. Masthanaiah

Waltair,
15th October 1977

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LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS

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ABBREVIATIONS

ARE	—	Annual Report on Indian Epigraphy
ARSIE	—	Annual Report on South Indian Epigraphy
Ep. Ind.	—	Epigraphia Indica
Ind. Ant.	—	Indian Antiquary
IHQ	—	Indian Historical Quarterly
JAHRS	—	Journal of Andhra Historical Research Society
JASB	—	Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal
JBBRAS	—	Journal of the Bombay Branch of Royal Asiatic Society
JBORS	—	Journal of Bihar and Orissa Research Society
JDL	—	Journal of Department of Letters, Calcutta University
JIH	—	Journal of Indian History
MER	—	Madras Epigraphical Report
MJLS	—	Madras Journal of Literature and Science
SII	—	South Indian Inscriptions
Tam. & Sans. Insc.	—	Tamil and Sanskrit Inscriptions

CHAPTER ONE

HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

Mukhaliṅgaṁ is a village (18° 35′ N and 38° 52′ E)[1] in the Śrīkākuḷam District of Andhra Pradesh (Pl.1). It is situated on the left bank of the Vaṁśadhāra, a river which drains and fertilizes the Śrīkākuḷam District. This district is bounded on the north and the west by Koraput and Ganjam Districts of Orissa. In the east the Bay of Bengal forms the natural boundry; the important port on the coast being Kaliṅgapaṭṇam. In the south it touches the Viśākhapṭṇam District of Andhra Pradesh. For administrative purposes it is divided into eleven taluks. The headquarters of the taluk in which Mukhaliṅgaṁ is situated, is located at Pātapṭaṇam. Mukhaliṅgaṁ can be approached through a bus route from Śrīkākuḷam, the headquarters of the District.

The Śrīkākuḷam District presents a rich and varied landscape. The Eastern Ghats run through it in the north-east direction. The coastal tract is drained by a number of rivers flowing from the west to the east. Most of the district is covered by red ferruginous soil which changes to black as we proceed from west to east. The region of the Śrīkākuḷaṁ District abounds in different varieties of khondalite stone and because of this fact there is no dearth for building material. In the immediate proximity of Mukhaliṅgaṁ, situated on the Vaṁśadhāra, the soil is fertile and mostly throughout the year the landscape is green. Because of its proximity to water, the place is a natural choice for the location of a capital city.

On the origin and significance of the name of Mukhaliṅgaṁ, several explanations can be offered. Obviously the name can be explained by the nature of the presiding deity of the Madhukeśvara shrine of the place. The presiding deity is a *linga* which belongs to the class of *lingas* which are termed as *Svayaṁbhū lingas*. One peculiarity, however, is that it is a faceted one and is, therefore, generally termed *Mukhalingam*. Since this deity alone has this peculiar distinction, the town that grew around it is described in popular parlance as Mukhaliṅgaṁ and this name stuck to it

1. *Impreial Gazetteer of India* (New Edition), Vol. XVIII, p. 18.

in course of time. The second explanation is that the name is derived from its geographical position. Mukhaliṅgaṁ was the principal city in the region of Kaliṅga which, in ancient period was also known as Trikaliṅga, since it was divided into three regions. Mukhaliṅgaṁ may be another version of Mukhaliṅgaṁ (*Mūḍu+Kaliṅgaṁ*) which is a Telugu translation of Trikaliṅga. Of the two explanations the former is the most probable one.[1]

Mukhaliṅgaṁ has been identified by scholars as Kaliṅganagara mentioned in the early inscriptions of the region as the capital of Kaliṅga. G.V. Ramamurty,[2] who first made this identification, cites as evidence the vestiges of Mukhaliṅgaṁ and Nagarikatakam, situated at about two miles from Mukhaliṅgam, in support of his view.

At present the village of Mukhaliṅgaṁ does not occupy an important place in the life of the Vaṁśadhāra region. However, in the ancient past this was not so. Mukhaliṅgaṁ was the capital city of the Eastern Gangas and its antiquity goes back to the hoary past. For studying its architectural heritage a background of the early history of the Vaṁśadhāra region becomes essential.

The region in which Mukhaliṅgaṁ is situated was known in the ancient period as 'Kaliṅga' and we can understaud the ancient past of Mukhaliṅgaṁ only when we review the political and cultural history of Kaliṅga. This ancient political *janapada* was an extensive one. In the days of the Mahābhārata and during the times of the Mauryas it extended from the Mahānadi in the north to the Godavari in the south. It comprised four divisions, namely Utkala, Tosala, Kongoda and Kaliṅga proper.[3] The region of Kaliṅga proper was bounded by Mahendragiri[4] in the north and the Godavari in the south. The region which presently constitutes the Śrīkākuḷam District of Andhra Pradesh was formerly known as Uttara Kaliṅga and that of the East Godavari District as Dakshiṇa Kaliṅga.

The region of Uttara Kaliṅga has a hoary past extending to centuries prior to the Christian era. Archaeologists who surveyed the region around Mukhaliṅgaṁ discovered ancient pottery, coins and other types of vestiges to show its antiquity.[5] In the course of his tours M. Venkataramayya found megalithic black-and-red and Rouletted Wares at Mukhaliṅgaṁ.[6] The archaeological exploration carried out by the members of the Department of History and Archaeology, Andhra University, has

1. R. Subba Rao says that, "Mukhalingam is a corruption of Mohalingam which is the Oriya form of the word Madhūkalingam". *History of the Eastern Gangas of Kalinga*, p. 90; See R. D. Banerji, *History of Orissa*, Vol. I, p. 1.
2. *Madras Journal of Literature and Science*, 1889-1894, pp. 68ff. Also *Ep.Ind.*, Vol. IV, pp. 187ff. Later other scholars like Sten Konow (*Ep. Ind.*, Vol. IX, p. 95); V.A. Smith (*Early History of India*, p. 498) and Hultzsch (*Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XVII, p. 332) accepted the view of G. V. Ramamurty.
3. R.D. Banerji, *History of Orissa*, Vol. I, pp. 4-5.
4. The Chola inscriptions clearly mention Mahendragiri as the northern limit of Kaliṅga, *SII*, Vol. III, No. 30 and *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXI, p. 232.
5. *MER*, 1919, p. 8.
6. *Indian Archaeology—1957-58*, p. 64; K. Raghavachari also obtained a large number of sherds of the Rouletted Ware, *Ibid.*, *1961-62*, p. 3.

also yielded the same type of pottery at Mukhaliṅgaṁ, Dantavarapukota and Singupuram. Under the aegis of the Archaeological Survey of India a small excavation was carried out at Mukhaliṅgaṁ during 1961—62.[1] On the basis of its preliminary report, it can be said that the place was a city of importance in the Mauryan and the Śātavāhana times.

The tract of land known by the name of Kaliṅga figures in Buddhist and Jain literature. In the Jātaka stories we get the picture of ancient Kaliṅga with its capital at Dantapura.[2] According to tradition, this capital city of ancient Kaliṅga received its name because of the sacred tooth-relic enshrined there. We are told that shortly after the *Parinirvāṇa* of the Buddha his left canine tooth was brought to Kaliṅga and it was enshrined in the capital city by the reigning king Brahmadatta.[3] From this tradition it appears that the earliest cultural life of the region that we know of, centred around Dantapura and it was Buddhist. This Dantapura is identified with Dantavarapukota which at present is located at a distance of about twenty miles from Mukhaliṅgaṁ.[4]

Authenticated history of Kaliṅga starts from the third century B.C. As is well-known, this region was conquered by Aśoka in about 260 B.C.[5] and soon after this event, there was a total change in Aśoka in his attitude towards life, and this resulted in his renunciation of war and his conversion to Buddhism simultaneously. From then onwards Aśoka became the missionary of Buddhism and preached *Dharma*, derived from his understanding of Buddhism; throughout his empire which stretched to the region of Kaliṅga in the South. In the region of Kaliṅga, edicts bearing Aśoka's *Dharma* are located at Dhauli and Jaugada.[6] These two places lie at a distance of about 200 miles from Mukhaliṅgaṁ. Near the Edict of Aśoka at Dhauli can be found the famous image of an elephant symbolizing the Buddha. This image difiers from the other products of the Mauryan art and appears to be the product of local craftsmen. The Mauryan rule in Kaliṅga thus resulted in the spread of Buddhism throughout that region.

The next landmark in the history of Kaliṅga is the rule of Khāravela of the Chedi dynasty. His sway extended over the entire region of Kaliṅga and he struck terror into the hearts of his contemporary kings. The Hāthīgumphā inscription,[7] which records his military exploits, also mentions that he was a Jain by his religious faith. Khāravela was responsible for excavating the rock-cut caves in the Udayagiri and Khandagiri hills. These rock-cut caves represent the first architectural activity in the region of Kaliṅga.[8]

1. *Indian Archaeology—1961-62*, p. 3.
2. R.D. Banerji, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, pp. 48-49.
3. *Asiat. Soc. Bengal*, Vol. VI, Pt. II, 1857, p. 860; also see *Dhātuvamśa*, Chapt. III & IV.
4. *JBORS*, Vol. XV, 1929, pp. 110-112; also see *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXXI, p. 200.
5. Romila Thapar, *Aśoka and the Decline of the Mauryas*, p. 35.
6. For the two Kaliṅga Edicts see, G. Srinivasa Murti and A.N. Krishna Aiyangar, *Edicts of Aśoka*, pp. 52-67.
7. *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XX, pp. 71-89; also D.C. Sircar, *Select Inscriptions*, pp. 206 ff.
8. Percy Brown, *Indian Architecture* (Buddhist & Hindu), pp. 28-30.

The political history of the Buddhist period is covered by the rule of the Andhra Śātavāhanas, a dynasty whose sway extended from the Deccan in the west to the Andhra region in the east. It is recorded in the inscriprions of the Śātavāhanas that the sway of one of their celebrated rulers, Gautamīputra Śātakarṇi, extended upto the Mahendragiri in the north.[1] In the excavations conducted at Sālihuṇḍam, situated at a distance of about 30 miles from Mukhaliṅgaṁ, a Buddhist *Saṅghārāma* of the early Christian times has come to light. This *Saṅghārāma* might have come into existence during the time of the Mauryas but had its heyday under the patronage of the Śātavāhanas and even flourished thereafter till the eighth century A.D.[2] Śātavāhana coins were also found at Mukhaliṅgaṁ,[3] Śālihuṇḍam[4] and Jāmi.[5] On the basis of this we can conclude that even in the early centuries of the Christian era the same type of Buddhist culture continued to prevail in the region around Mukhāliṅgaṁ.[6]

In coastal Andhra the Buddhist settlement or *Saṅghārāma* usually conforms to a particular pattern. Conspicuously there is a *Mahāstūpa* in front of which the monastery is located on a quadrangular plan. At the entrance are located two apsidal *Chaityas*. Around the central hall of congregation are arranged a number of square cells for the residence of the monks on three sides This general layout for Buddhist settlement is conspicuously absent at Sālihuṇḍam. In the centre of the layout, there is a big *stūpa* built on the ground plan of a cart-wheel. This type of plan is clearly derived from the ground plan of the *stūpas* of Andhradeśa. This shows that the craftsmen of this region of Kaliṅga were exposed to the cultural influences from the South. But the peculiarity of Sālihuṇḍam lies in the presence of a number of *Chaityas* which are built on a circular plan with a rectangular opening on one side. Since this type of *Chaitya* hall is not to be found elsewhcre in India, it must have been the creation of the craftsmen of Kaliṅga. It is this creative skill of the craftsmen of Kalinga which became manifest when they erected temples at Mukhaliṅgaṁ during the period between the 9th and 12th centuries A.D.

By about 4th Century A.D., the region of Mukhaliṅgaṁ passed on to the sway of kings known as Maṭharas and Vāsiṣṭhas.[7] Of these the Maṭharas ruled over Kaliṅga from their capital at Pithapuram or the ancient Pishṭhapura of the inscriptions. The Vāsiṣṭhas changed their capital from Pithapuram to Singapuram and then

1. Nasik inscription of Bālaśri, D.C. Sircar, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, p. 196.
2. R. Subrahmanyam, *Salihundam*, p. 18.
3. *Indian Archaeology—1957-58*, p. 64.
4. R. Subrahmanyam, *op. cit.*, p. 117.
5. Two lead coins were found during the excavation conducted by the Dept. of History and Archaeology, Andhra University, Wailtair in 1970-71. Jāmi is located at a distance of 30 miles from Viśāhkapaṭnam.
6. The presence of Buddhist sculptures and structures like *stūpas* in and around Mukhalingaṁ go to prove this; also see *Kalingadeśacharitra* (Telugu) Ed. by Subba Rao, p. 104.
7. For the records and history of Maṭharas and Vāsiṣṭhas see B.V. Krishna Rao, *A History of the Early Dynasties of Andhradeśa*, pp. 384-397 and 464-472.

to Vardhamanapura and finally to Siripuram in Śrikākuḷam District. We do not know the cultural life of this tract during the reign of Māṭharas and Vāsiṣṭhas. Preseumably the same type of Buddhist culture continued to prevail. By the end of the 5th Century A.D. this culture was replaced by the Śaivite culture when the Eastern Gangas founded their capital at Mukhaliṅgaṁ. According to a local tradition current in Mukhaliṅgaṁ, it was a Śaivite king who changed his capital from Dantapura, a predominantly Buddhist stronghold, to Mukhaliṅgaṁ a place on the Vaṁśadhāra river.[1] This tradition perhaps refers to the foundation of the new capital which inaugurated a new era with its centre at Mukhaliṅgam displacing the earlier culture.

History of the Eastern Gangas

The origin of the Eastern Ganga power is shrouded in mystery. It is not known whether this dynasty hailed from some other region[2] or they were the natives of the soil. The Eastern Gangas issued their donative records in Gāngeya Era. There is no consensus among scholars either about the initial year of the Ganga era or about the succession and chronology of the Eastern Gangas. Hence, the dynastic history of the Early Gangas cannot be described in the manner of a historical narrative. It is often disjoint and sketchy. For the present study, their history is reconstructed on the basis of 493 A.D. as the initial year of the Ganga rule.[3]

The history of the early Gangas commences with the reign of Indravarma I (493-532).[4] He is attributed in his records with the title of *Trikaliṅgādhipati* and from this we can infer that he might have conquered the whole of Kaliṅga and firmly established his rule over that region. His capital city was at Dantapura. This

1. R. D. Banerji, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, p. 51.
2. The Copper Plate grants of Anantavarma Choḍagangа belonging to 12th Century A.D. mention that his ancestors hailed from Kolāhalapura which is identified with Kolar in Karnatka; *JAHRS*, Vol. I, pp. 106-124 and *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XVIII, pp. 165-172. However, this information is uncorroborated.
3. For the discussion on the chronology and geneology of the Eastern Gangas see Appendix I.
4. Indravarma I issued the following records.
   (a) Tirlingi C.P. dated 521 A.D.; *JAHRS*, Vol. III, Pt. I, pp. 55 ff.
   (b) Jirjingi C.P. dated 532 A D.; *Ibid.*, pp. 49-53 and *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXV pp. 281-288.

   Though the style of dating in the Tirlingi grant is the same as that of the other Ganga records it does not mention the name of the era in which it was issued. Nor it mentions the name of its donor nor that of his dynasty. That the grant was issued by a king of the Ganga family is also known from the fact that its writer Vinayachandra, who is described as the son of Bhanuchandra can be identified as the same person who later wrote the records of Hastivarma and Indravarma dated in 573 and 480 A. D. respectively. But the king who issued the Tirlingi grant can only be identified by conjecture. The Jirjingi Plates dated in 532 A.D. mention its donor as Indravarma whom scholars regard as the founder of the Ganga dynasty and as being responsible for the starting of the Ganga era. This Indravarma may be identified with the donor of Tirlingi Plates also as both the records are dated in the same style and both of them could be assigned to the same period on paleographical grounds.

Indravarma is identified by scholars[1] with Adhirāja Indra mentioned in a copper plate grant[2] which hails from the Godavari region. This grant describes in detail a war fought between Adhirāja Indra and one Indrabhaṭṭāraka and the victory won by the former over the latter. Indrabhaṭṭāraka is identified with his namesake of the Vishnukuṇḍin family who ruled over the Andhra region with his capital at Vengi. That Indravarma or Indrabhaṭṭaraka of the Vishnukuṇḍin family had ruled over a part of Kaliṅga is known from his grant found at Rāmatīrtham[4] in Viśākhapaṭṇam District which constituted the Madhyama Kaliṅga region. Indrabhaṭṭāraka is described in these records as having ruled over the Pḷakirāshṭra, a part of Madhyama Kalinga. Consequently, it can be inferred that there must have been a conflict between the Gangas and the Vishnukuṇḍins for the occupation of the Madhyama Kaliṅga regions. Indravarma, in his efforts to conquer the whole of Kaliṅga, must have marched south but was opposed by the Vishnukuṇḍin ruler in the Godavari region. In the fight that ensued between the two, Indravarma might have defeated Indrabhaṭṭāraka and extended his empire upto the Godavari river in the south and proclaimed himself as the Lord of Trikaliṅga.

The next important Ganga ruler[5] is Devendravarma (535—544 A.D.)[6] He was the first among the Gangas to mention that he was a worshipper of Lord Gokarṇasvāmi situated on the Mahendra Mountain. That Devendravarma was a follower of Śiva is known not only by the reference to him as the worshipper of Gokarṇesvara but also by the epithet *Paramamāheśvara* attributed to him in his record and also by the presence of the Śaivite emblems of bull and half-moon on the seal of his copper plates. During his reign the capital was transferred from Dantapura to Kaliṅganagara which is identified with Mukhaliṅgaṁ. Kaliṅganagara is described as being pleasant and comfortable during all the seasons. However, Dantapura continued to be the second capital of the Gangas and some of the records of the later Ganga rulers were issued from that place. The Gangas also had a strong fort at Dantapura, the remains of which can still be seen. His copper plate grant refers to Devendravarma as "the glory of the Ganga dynasty".

The copper-plate grant of Devendravarma I records a gift made by him to the Brāhmaṇas of this region after holding a meeting of the *Kuṭumbins* of the Tāmara-

1. R. Subba Rao, *op. cit.*, p. 488 and B.V. Krishna Rao, *op. cit.*, pp. 494 ff.
2. *JBBRAS*, Vol. XVI, p. 114 ff.
3. B.V. Krishna Rao, *op. cit.*, pp. 491 ff.
4. *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XII, pp. 133 ff.
5. Indravarma I was succeeded by Anantavarma I (532-535 A.D.) who is described as the father of Devendravarma I in a record of the latter. *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XIII, pp. 273-276.
6. Devendravarma I issued the following record : Srikakulam C. P. dated 544 A.D., *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XIII pp. 273-276.

   This grant is the first to mention the Ganga era by name *Gāngeya vamśa pravardhamāna vijaya rājya samwatsara*. In contrast to the Jirjingi Plates issued from Dantapura, the Śrīkakuḷam Plates were issued from Kaliṅganagara.

cheruvu village. Most of the grants issued by the Ganga rulers record gifts of villages or land and other provisions to Brāhmaṇas and Hindu deities. The villages were converted as *agrahāras* or *devāgrahāras* and given over either to the Brāhmaṇas or to the Hindu deities. At the time of making gifts the elders of the village (*Kuṭumbins*) were invited to an assembly-hall and the order was proclaimed in their presence and also in the presence of the officers of the State. Sometimes the elders of the village were also consulted before the gift was made. They were also asked to provide all the comforts to the donees and follow the king's order.

Devendravarma I was succeeded by Satyavarma (544-557 A.D.)[1] and later by Sāmantavarma (557-572 A.D.).[2] Of these, Sāmantavarma appears to be more energetic. He was the conqueror of the entire Trikaliṅga. It is possible that he waged a successful war against the Vishnukuṇḍins and reconquered the central and southern parts of Kaliṅga.

Hastivarma (572-580 A.D.)[3] succeeded to the Ganga throne in 572 A.D. Though there is no direct reference in his grants to his war-like activities, the epithets attributed to him like *Rājasimha* and *Raṇabhīta*, apart from the usual title *Māharāja*, and his claims having established the Ganga Dynasty on a firm footing and of having ruled over the whole of Kaliṅga, point out that he waged successful wars. It is certain that he maintained his authority over the whole of Kaliṅga. The title of *Raṇabhīta* borne by Hastivarma is also significant here. The title ending with "*Bhīta*" was usually borne by the kings of the Śailodbhava dynasty who ruled over Kongoda lying to the north of Mukhaliṅgaṁ and, therefore, it appears that Hastivarma acquired that title by defeating one of the Śailodbhava rulers.

Although Hastivarma was a follower of Śiva like his predecessors, he patronized Vaishnavism also. The Narasingapalli grant of Hastivarma records the gift of land for constructing a temple of Nārāyana called Raṇabhītodaya named after the title borne by him. This is first instance of Ganga ruler showing Vaishnava inclination and making a gift to Vaishnava deity.

1. Satyavarma issued the following record : Srikakulam C.P. dated 544 A.D., *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. X, p. 243; XIII, p. 274; & XIV, pp. 10-12.
2. Sāmantavarma issued the following record :
   Ponnutur C.P. dated 557 A D. The Plates were first noticed by M. Somasekhara Sharma in *JAHRS*, Vol. XIII, p. 93 ff., and later published in *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXVII, pp. 216-223.
3. Hastivarma issued the following records :
   (a) Narasingapalli Plates dated 572 A.D.; *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXII, pp. 62-67; *Andhra Patrika Samvatsaradi Samchika*, 1920, pp. 217-224.
   (b) Urlam C.P. dated 573 A.D.; *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XVII, pp. 330-334. Both the Narsingapalli and Urlam grants were issued from Kaliṅganagara.

Indravarma II[1] (580-605 A.D.) succeeded to the Ganga throne after the death of Hastivarma in about 580 A.D. He claims to have established the Ganga family firmly in Kaliṅga and to have been the overlord of the whole of Kaliṅga. However, it appears that he had to face invasions from two fronts, that of the Vishuukuṇḍins from the south and of the Somavaṁśis from the north. It is probable that Mādhavavarma of Vishnukuṇḍin family of Vengi made an unsuccessful attempt to appropriate portions of Kaliṅga.[2] Apart from the Vishnukuṇḍins, the Somavaṁśis who became powerful in the region of Māhkosala, invaded the territories of the Ganga. Harshagupta, the son of Chandragupta, claims to have conquered the Trikaliṅga region. This event might have taken place during the reign of Indravarma.[3]

Indravarma is described as a worshipper of Lord Gokarṇeśvara situated on the Mahendra Mountain. One of his record states that he had constructed a tank for the irrigation of lands. This is not the only instance of its kind. The records of the Gangas contain many references to the kings ordering digging of tanks and wells, providing irrigational facilities to lands for bringing it under cultivation, providing villages with water-supply facilities at the time of making gifts and holding meetings of *Kuṭumbins* at the time of granting villages and land. These efforts of the Ganga rulers would go to prove that they took keen interest to develop agriculture in the regions under their control and paid great attention towards the welfare of the people.

Indravarma II was sncceeded by one Danarnava[4] (605-621 A.D.) and then by the later's son Indravarma III[5] (621-647 A.D.). Indravarma III, like some of his predecessors, is described as a Mahārāja and as the overlord of the whole of Kaliṅga. However, during his reign Indravarma had to face an invasion from the South. Pulakeśin II, the most famous of the Early Chālukyas of Bādāmi, conquerred Vengī and, following the tradition of the early dynasties, invaded Kaliṅga also and annexed it temporarily to his dominions.[6] This invasion can be placed in the

1. Indravarma issued the following grants :
   (a) Achyutapuram C.P. dated 580 A.D.; *Ed. Ind.* Vol. III, pp. 127-130.
   (b) Santabommali C.P. dated 580 A.D.; *JAHRS*, Vol. IV, Pts. I & II, pp. 21-24.
   (c) Parlakimedi C.P dated 584 A.D.; *Ind. Ant*, Vol. XVI, pp. 131-134 and *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XVI, pp. 131 ff.
   (d) Urajam C.P. dated 590 A.D.; *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXX, p. 38.
2. *JAHRS*, Vol. VI, p. 17 ff.; *Journ. Dept. Let.*, Calcutta University, Vol. XI, p. 31 ff.
3. H. K. Mahtab, *History of Orissa*, Vol. I, p. 121.
4. The Purle C.P. grant of Indravarma III mentions Danaranava as his father; *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XIV, pp. 360-363.
5. Indravarma III issued the following grants :
   (a) Srikakulam C.P. dated 621 A.D.; *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XIII, p. 119-122.
   (b) Srikakulam C.P. dated 631 A.D.; *Ibid.*, pp. 123-123.
   (c) Srikakulam C.P. dated 639 A.D., *Tam. & Sans. Ins.* pp. 164-166.
   (d) Purle C.P. dated 642 A.D.; *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XIV, pp. 360-363.
   (e) Tekkali C.P. dated 647 A.D.; *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XVIII, pp. 307-311.
6. *Ep. Ind.*; Vol. VI, pp. 1-12.

first quarter of the 7th century A.D. However, the Chālukyan conquest of Kaliṅga was a mere episode so far as the Mukhaliṅgaṁ region was concerned, and Indravarma recovered within a short time and ruled over the Uttara Kaliṅga region, the traditional stronghold of the Gangas, from the Kaliṅganagara. Pulakeśin II appointed his brother Kubja Vishnuvardhana as his viceroy to rule over the conquerred regions of Vengi and Kaliṅga with his headquarters at Pishṭhapura. However, the latter, within a few years, began to rule independently and transferred his capital from Pishṭhapura to Vengi. Whether Kubja Vishnuvardhana declared independence on his own or was allowed to rule independently by his brother Pulakeśin II, is not known. Anyhow, Kubja Vishnuvardhana founded the Chālukyan dynasty of Vengi in the east and his dominion included both the Dakshiṇa and Madhyama Kaliṅgas.[1]

Daṇḍi, who flourished during this period, describes the following events in his work known as the *Daśākumāracarita*, which can be related to the dynastic conflict between the Eastern Chālukyas and the Gangas in the 7th century A.D. The story centres round one Kardama, a king of Kaliṅga. He ruled from Kaliṅgapaṭṇam and had a beautiful daughter named Kankalekha. When the Kaliṅga king and the members of his family were enjoying in a garden near the seashore, Jayasiṁha, a king from the Andhra region, attacked and captured the former alongwith his daughter and carried them away forcibly to Andhra. Jayasiṁha wanted to kill Kardama but could not do so because he fell in love with the latter's daughter Kanakalekha. Mahābhāga, a minister of Kardama, went to Andhra in disguise and killed Jayasiṁha and saved Kardama and his daughter. The Andhra region was annexed to Kaliṅga. Kardama of this story is identified by some scholars as Indravarma III.[2] The above evidence shows that there was a fight between Indravarma and Jayasiṁha, the successor of Kubja Vishnuvardhana, for the control of the Madhyama Kaliṅga and the Dakshiṇa Kaliṅga regions.[3] However, there is no evidence to show that Indravarma ever reconquered these regions. The Madhyama Kaliṅga and Dakshiṇa Kaliṅga regions continued to remain under the effective control of the rulers of Vengi until again Anantavarma Choḍaganga, the famous Ganga ruler, reconquered and annexed them to the Ganga Empire during the early part of the 12th century A.D.

Indravarma III, like most of the Ganga rulers, is described as the worshipper of Lord Gokarṇasvami of the Mahendra Mountain and is also attributed with the title of 'Paramamāheśvara' testifying to his Śaiva faith. The seal of his copper plates also shows the emblem of bull, a Śaiva symbol. Indravarma is again described

1. That Kubja Vishnvardhana continued to have his control over the Madhya Kaliṅga and Dakshiṇa Kaliṅga regions is known from his issue of the Timmapuram (*Ep. Ind.*, Vol. IX, p. 317-319) and Chipurupalle (*Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XX, pp. 15-18) grants from Pishṭhapura and from the villages gifted therein which could be located in the Viśākhapaṭṇam District.
2. H.K. Mehtab, *History of Orissa*, Vol. I, pp. 123-124.
3. That Jayasiṁha fought against an an unknown enemy is known from his Pulimbūru grant (*Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XIX, pp. 254 ff.). Moreover, Jayasiṁha had the title Sarvasiddhi and a place of that name is located near Elamanchili in the Viśākhapaṭṇam District.

as having acquired the title of '*āchārya*' for his masterly proficiency in arts and letters. The script of the records of Indravarma, like those of his predecessors, is early Telugu or Telugu-Kannada form. The script and the use of some Telugu words in his records go to prove that the language of the people of the Kaliṅga region was Telugu even as early as the 7th Century A.D. while the court language remained Sanskrit in which most of the Ganga records were written.

Indravarma III was succeeded by Guṇārṇava[1] (648-676 A.D.) and the latter's son Devendravarma II[2] (676-697 A.D.). Though Devendravarma II is said to have exercised his control over the whole of Kaliṅga, the provenance of the records of Mangi Yuvaraja. who was the former's contemporary, shows that the Madhyama Kaliṅga and Dakshiṇa Kaliṅga regions still formed part of the Eastern Chālukyan empire.[3] Anantavarma II[4] (697-710 A.D.) succeeded his father Devendravarma to the Ganga throne. Anantavarma, like his predecessors, is described as a follower of Śiva and the seal of his plates bears the Śaivite emblems of bull and half-moon. Anantavarma was succeeded by Jayavarma (710-714 A.D.). The Parlakimedi Plates of Anantavrma II mention Jayavarma as his brother. However, no grant was issued by Jayavarma independently and, therefore, there is no other evidence for the history of his rule. Nandavarma (714-747 A. D.), the eldest son of Anantavarma II, succeeded to the Ganga throne after the death of his uncle Jayavarma. A single grant of Nandavarma was found at Santabommāli in the Srīkākuḷaṁ District and is dated 714 A.D.[5] Like most of the Ganga grants, it was also issued from Kaliṅga-nagara. Nandavarma is also attributed with the usual Śaiva epithets and the seal of his plates, like that of his father, bears the emblem of bull. The Santabommāli Plates of Nandavarma record the gift of a village to a Brāhmaṇa in the presence of not only the *Kuṭumbins* of that village but also officials like *Bhogika* and *Vārika*.

During this period the Eastern Chālukyas asserted themselves over Madhyama Kaliṅga. Kokkili, who succeeded to the Chālukyan throne of Vengi in about 717 A.D., was dethroned and expelled by his elder brother Vishnuvardhana III. Placed in the necessity of finding a new home, he fled to the Madhyama Kaliṅga

1. In the Srīkākuḷam Plates of Devendravarma II, Guṇārṇava is described as his father (*Ep. Ind.*, Vol. III, p. 130-134).
2. The following records belong to the reign of Devendravarma II :
   (a) Srīkākuḷam C. P. dated 676 A.D. (*Ep. Ind.*, Vol. III, pp. 130-134).
   (b) Dharmalingesvara C.P. dated 677 A.D. (*JAHRS*, Vol. II, pp. 275-276). (As Sudava C.P. in *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXVI, pp. 62 ff.)
   (c) Tekkali C.P. dated 685 A.D. (*Ind. Hist. Quart.*, XI, pp. 300 ff.)
   (d) Siddhantam C.P. dated 698 A.D. (*Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XIII, pp. 212-216).
3. N. Venkataramanayya, *The Eastern Chālukyas of Vengi*, p. 69.
4. Anantavarma II issued the following grants :
   (a) Dharmalingesvara C.P. dated 697 A.D. (*JAHRS*, Vol. II, pp. 273-275). (As Sudava C.P. in *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXVI, p. 65 f.)
   (b) Andhavaram C.P. dated 709 A.D. (*Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXXI, pp. 199 ff.).
5. *JAHRS*, Vol. II, pp. 185-189.

region and established himself in the forest tracts of that region with his headquarters at Elamanchili.[1] Thus, part of the Madhyama Kaliṅga region came under the rule of Kokkili and his successors for a century. The main branch of the Chālukyan dynasty did nor exercise effective control over the Madhyama Kaliṅga region during this period. Most probably, Kokkili and his successors were allowed to rule over that region semi-independently because of their close relation to the Chālukyas of Vengi. A record of Kokkilivarma Mahārāja was found at Munjeru in the Bhīmilipaṭṇaṁ Taluk of Viśākhapaṭṇaṁ District.[2] The establishment of a branch of the Chālukyan dynasty at Elamanchili might have taken place during the rule of Nandavarma in the Mukhaliṅgaṁ region.

Nandavarma was succeeded by his brother Devendravarma III[3] (747-770 A.D.) who was the younger son of Anantavarma II. Like most of the Ganga rulers, Devendravarma also claims to have been the ruler of the whole of Kaliṅga. But, as mentioned elsewhere, the Madhyama Kaliṅga and Dakshiṇa Kaliṅga regions, after Pulakeśin II's invasion, continued to be in the hands of the rulers of Vengi until Anantavarma Choḍaganga annexed those regions in the 12th Century A.D. Moreover, Kokkili founded a new dynasty in the forest areas of Madhyama Kaliṅga. But, at the same time, we find the Ganga rulers claiming themselves as the kings of the whole of Kaliṅga. Most probably, when they mention the whole of Kaliṅga being under their rule, they meant only the Uttara Kaliṅga region to which they were mostly confined for over five centuries.

Devendravarma III was succeeded by Rājendravarma I[4] (770-777 A.D.) and then by the latter's sons Anantavarma III[5] (777—797 A.D.) and Devendravarma IV[6] (798 807 A.D.). The Alamanda Plates of Anantavarma III go to prove that he had extended his rule over the northern part of the Madhyama Kaliṅga region

1. N. Venkataramanayya, *The Eastern Chālukyas of Vengi*, pp. 70-71.
2. *ARE*, C.P. 13 of 1908-09; Cf. C.P. 10 & 11 of 1908-09.
3. Devendravarma III issued the following grant :
   The Vizagapatam C.P. dated 747 A.D. (*Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XVIII, pp. 143-146).
4. The Alamanda Plates of Anantavarma III (*Ep. Ind.*, Vol. III, pp. 17-21) and the Tekkali C.P. of Devendravarma IV (*Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XVIII, pp. 311-313) mention Rajendravarma I as their father.
5. Anantavarma III issued the following grants :
   (a) Alamanda C.P. dated 797 A.D. (*Ep. Ind.*, Vol. III, pp. 17-21).
   (b) The undated Munjeru C.P. (*K.A.N. Sastri Felicitation*, Vol. p. 117-124).
6. The following records belong to the reign of Devendravarma IV :
   (a) Shalantri C.P. dated 799 A.D. (*JAHRS*, Vol. XVIII, pp. 115 ff.)
   (b) Tekkali C.P. dated 803 A.D. (*Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XVIII, pp. 311-313).
   (c) The undated Bangalore C.P. (*Ep. Carn.*, Vol. IX, Bn. No. 140).
   (d) Pattali C.P. dated 806 A.D. (*Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXXII, pp. 201-206).
   (e) Arsavalli C.P. dated 806 A.D. (*ARE*, for 1956-57, p. 25, No. 3).
   (f) Nampalli C.P. dated 807 A.D. (*JOR*, Vol. IV, pp. 59 ff.)
   The last three grants were issued by Yuvarāja Rājendravarma during the rule of his fahter Devendravarma IV.

also. However, there is no evidence from the Chālukyan side to show that either the Chālukyas of Vengi or the successors of Kokkili ever tried to resist the Ganga expansion to the South. From the time of Devendravarma IV, we find an elaboration in the imperial titles of the Ganga rulers. Devendravarma IV is attributed in his records with the titles like *Mahārājādhirāja* and *Parāmeśvara*, while his prodecessors had only the title of *Maharāja*. Moreover, he is described as having won many battles. We have already known that his brother Anantavarma III had extended the Ganga Empire southwards and a part of the Madhyama Kaliṅga region formed part of his empire. Devendravarma IV might have either extended his empire further South or defeated an invader.

Devendravarma IV was succeeded by Rājendravarma II[1] (808—835 A.D.) and later by Vajri or Vajrahasta I[2] (835—840 A.D.), Mārasiṁha alias Bhūpendravarma[3] (840—850 A.D.) and Anantevarma Vajrahasta II[4] (850—876 A.D.). Of these, only Rājendravarma II and Anantavarma Vajrahasta II issued any records. It appears that untill the end of the region of Vajrahasta II there was peace and prosperity in the Ganga empire in 9th Century A.D. However, during the region of Devendravarma V[5] (876-895 A.D.), the Gangas had to face an invasion from the South. The Eastern Chālukyan king, Vijayāditya III or Guṇaga Vijayāditya, who ascended the throne of Vengi in about 848 A.D., is said to have conquered Kaliṅga

1. The following record belongs to the reign of Rajendravarma II. Mandasa C.P. dated 835 A.D. (*Ann. Ep. Rep.*, S. Circle for 1917-18, pp. 137-138).
2. The Chidivalasa plate of Devendravarma V; (*JAHRS*, Vol. II. pp, 146-164) give the following geneology.
3. Vajri
   |
   Nārasiṁha alias Bhūpendravarma
   |
   Devendravarma

   R. Subba Rao, who edited the grant, on the other hand, states that the above record gives four generations of rulers.

   Vajri
   |
   Mārasiṁha
   |
   Bhūpendravarma
   |
   Devendravarma

   However, the succession as given in the text, if properly interpreted, gives three generations only. ſ (*śrimad bhūpendravarmasūnuḥ śri Devendravarma...Ṇārsiṁhapitāyasya Vajri caiva pitāmaha svayam Devendravarmeti*); (*JAHRS*, Vol. II, pp. 149-151, Lines 11-12 & 15-16; Also see, *JAHRS*, Vol. XII, Pt. II, p. 103 & Fn. 4).
4. Anantavarma Vajrahasta II issued the following grants :
   (a) Tekkali C.P. dated 851 A.D. (C.P. No. 3 of 1935-36).
   (b) Kalahandi C.P. dated 876 A.D. (*Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXXI, pp. 317-322).
5. The following records belong to the reign of Devendravarma V :
   (a) Galavalli C.P. dated 886 A.D.; (*Ann. Rep. of Ind. Ep.* for 1955-56, p. 14, No. 2 and *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXXI, p. 187 ff.).
   (b) Chidivalasa C.P. dated 890 A.D.; (*JAHRS*, Vol. II, pp. 146-164).

and other regions.[1] Devendravarma V and his son Prince Manujendra, in their attempt to resist the Chālukyan invasion, probably lost their lives. Henceforth, the Eastern Chālukyas maintained their hold on the Mukhaliṅgaṁ region till the end of 10th Century A.D.

The next Ganga ruler, according to the available individual records, was Vajrahasta IV[2] who ascended the throne before 993 A.D. Thus, there exists a gap of more than a century between Devendravarma V and Vajrahasta. Who were the kings ruling over the Mukhaliṅgaṁ region during this period? What happened to the Ganga dynasty then ? For the lack of data we have to depend on a conjectural reconstruction of history for this period basing ourselves upon the testimony of the records of contemporary kings. Guṇaga Vijayāditya, as mentioned above, conquered the whole of Kaliṅga towards the end of the 9th Century A.D. Though the record,[3] describing the conquest of Kaliṅga by him, does not mention the name of the king he defeated, most probably it was Devendravarma V. Presumably, Devendravarma and his son Manujendra were killed while resisting the Chālukyan invasion. This explains the absence of any grant issued either by Manujendra or by any one of his immediate successors.

The above reconstruction can also be substantiated by turning to the history of the Chālukyas of Vengi. The successor of Guṇaga Vijayāditya continued to exercise his authority over the kaliṅga region[4] and his successor Vijayāditya IV led an expedition into Kaliṅga in about 922 A.D.[5], probably to stabilize the power of the Chālukyas there. Chālukya Bhīma II (935-945 A.D.) established close relationship with the Gangas by marrying a Ganga princess named Urjapa or Ankidevi.[6] Their son Dānārṇava was helped by the Gangas to capture the Chālukyan throne from his younger brother Vijayāditya VI.[7] Meanwhile, in the further south of Vengi, the Telugu Choḍas became powerful. In 973 A.D. Jaṭā Choḍa Bhīma of the Telugu Choḍa family in a spectacular military campaign conquered at first Vengi and in a few years the whole of Kaliṅga also.[8] Most probably, the Gangas must have given political asylum to Dānārṇava at their court and consequently had to face the wrath of Jaṭā Choḍa Bhīma. Śaktivarma and his brother, the sons of Dānārṇava, fled to the South in order to seek refuge in the court of the powerful Choḷas of Thanjavur.[9] To Jaṭā Choḍa Bhīma, therefore, the danger was more from the South than from the

1. *JTA*, Vol. XI, p. 241; *JBORS*, Vol. VIII, p. 83 f; *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. IV, p. 225.
2. The issuer of Waltair C.P. dated 993 A.D. (*ARE* for 1961-62, p. 38, No. 21).
3. *JTA*, Vol. XI, p. 241; *JBORS*, Vol. VIII, p. 83 f; *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. IV, p. 226.
4. Chālukya Bhīma I, the successor of Guṇaga Vijayāditya, is said to have built two temples one at Chālukya Bhīmavaram and the other at Drākshārāmam, both of them situated in Dakshiṇa Kaliṅga (i.e., the present East Godavari District). (N. Venkataramanayya, *The Eastern Chālukyas of Vengi*, pp. 142-143).
5. *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XIII, pp. 213-214.
6. *JAHRS*, Vol. XI, p. 86.
7. N. Venkataramanayya, *The Eastern Chalukyas of Vengi*, p. 194.
8. *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXI, p. 29 ff.
9. N. Venkataramanayya, *The Eastern Chālukyas of Vengi*, p. 206.

North. During this period, the Gangas once again asserted themselves under Vajrahasta over the region of Mukhaliṅgaṁ. Rājarāja, the Choḷa monarch, to help the Chālukyan princes, invaded the North in about 999-1000 A.D. and conquered Vengi and put Śaktivarman on the Chālukyan throne.[1] Then he pursued the fleeing Jaṭā Choḍa Bhīma and conquered Kaliṅga also.[2] Rājarāja invaded Kaliṅga not only to capture Jaṭā Choḍa Bhīma but also to conquer Kaliṅga, which was formerly under the control of the Chālukyas, and annex it to the Chālukyan Empire.

Vajrahasta IV,[3] who ascended the Ganga throne in 993 A.D., seems to have recovered the Uttara Kaliṅga region. Vajrahasta was succeeded by his son Devendravarma VI[4] in about 1013 A D. Devendravarma VI is stated to have been the ruler of the whole of Kaliṅga. Devendravarma VI, like his predecessors, is described as a follower of Śiva.

During the reign of Devendravarma VI, there was an invasion from the South. Epigraphical records belonging to the region of Rājendra Choḷa (1012-42 A.D.), the son and successor of the great Choḷa Emperor Rājarāja, state that his general Arayan Rājarajan alias Vikrama Choḷa Choḷiyavaraiyan defeated the king of Vengi, and the Kaliṅgas, the Teliṅgas and the Oddas.[5]

Madhukāmārṇava[6] (1019-1037 A.D.) succeeded Devendravarma VI to the Ganga throne in about 1019 A.D. There is no evidence to suggest any relationship between Devendravarma VI and Madhukāmārṇava. However, Madhukāmārṇava, like Devendravarma, is described in his record as the son of Anantavarma who may

1. *Ibid*, p. 208.
2. *SII*, Vol. III, No. 51, pp. 105-106; *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXI, pp. 29-34.
3. The following records belong to reign of Vajrahasta IV :
   (a) Ponduru C.P. dated 993 A.D. (*JAHRS*, Vol. IX, Pt. 3, pp. 23 ff.).
   (b) Waltair C.P. dated 993 A.D.; (*ARE* for 1961-62, p. 38, No. 21).
   (c) The undated Andhavaram C.P.; (*Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXXI, pp. 203 ff.).
   The Simhipura C.P. of Devendravarma VI and the Srīkākuḷam C.P. of Madhukāmārṇava mention Anantavarma as their father. This Anantavarma can be identified with Vajrahasta IV whose full name might have been Anantavarma Vajrahasta. Vajrahasta IV must be identified with Aniyaṅkabhīma Vajrahasta mentioned in the records of Anantavarma Vajrahasta V.
4. Devendravarma-VI issued the following grant :
   Simhipura C.P. dated 1013 A.D.; (*JAHRS*, Vol. III, pp. 171-180). Devendravarma IV must be identified either with Kāmārṅava II or with Guṇḍama II mentioned in the inscriptions of Anantavarma Vajrahasta V.
5. *ARE*, Nos. 23, 24, 30, 31, 751 and 752 of 1917.
6. Madhukāmārṇava issued the following grant:
   Srīkākuḷam C.P. dated 1019 A.D.; (*ARE* for 1918-19, C.P. No. 5; *JBORS*, Vol. XVIII, pp. 272 ff.; *JAHRS*, Vol. VIII, pp. 180-182 ; R. Subba Rao, *History of Eastern Gangas of Kaliṅga*, Appendix of Incriptions, pp. 10-12).
   The Srīkākuḷam plate of Madhukāmārṇava record a gift of three villages to a Vaiśya named Erapanāyaka who is described as the son of Māchināyaka. Though most of the Ganga grants record gifts made to Brāhmaṇas, we come across a few instances where gifts were also made to persons belonging to other castes like Vaiśyas.

be identified with Vajrahasta IV. Thus, it is probable that Madhukāmārṇava was a younger brother of Devendravarma VI.

Madhukāmārṇava was succeeded by his son Anantavarma Vajrahasta V[1] in 1037-38 A.D. The political history of this period is related to the dynastic conflict with the Chālukyas of Vengi on the one side and the Choḷas of Thanjavur on the other.

1. The following records belong to reign of Anantavarma Vajrahasta V :
   (a) Narsipatnam C.P. dated 1045 A.D. (*Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XI, pp. 147-153).
   (b) Nadagam C.P. dated 1057 A.D. (*Ep. Ind.*, Vol. IV, pp. 183-193).
   (c) Madras Museum C.P. dated 1062 A.D. (*Ep. Ind.*, Vol. IX, pp. 94-98).
   (d) Chikkalavalasa C.P. dated 1060 A.D. (*Bharati*, Vol. II, Pt. II, pp. 138-155; *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXXIII, pp. 141-146).
   (e) Boddapadu C.P. dated 1060 A.D. (*Bharati*, Vol. III, May 1926, pp. 82-94; *Kaliṅgadeśa-charitra* (Telugu), Appendix, pp. 55 ff; *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXXIV, pp. 43-46).
   (f) Mandasa C.P. dated 1054 A.D. (C.P. No. 12 of 1917-18).
   (g) Arsavalli C.P. dated 1060 A.D. (*Bharati*, May 1954, pp. 449 ff; *JAHRS*, Vol. XXI, pp. 113 ff; *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXXII, pp. 310 ff).
   (h) Pedda Bammidi C.P. dated 1060 A.D. (*Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXXI, pp. 305 ff).
   (i) Ganjam C.P. dated 1069 A. D. (*Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXIII, pp. 67 ff).
   (j) Srīkākuḷam C.P. dated 1049 A.D. (*JAHRS*, Vol. VIII, pp. 163 ff).
   (k) Danta C.P. dated 1060 A.D. (N. Ramesan, *C.P. Inscriptions of A.P. Government Museum*, Hyderabad, Vol. I, pp. 137-152).
   (l) The undated Parlakimidi C.P. (*Ep. Ind.*, Vol. III, pp. 220-224).
   (m) Mukhalingam Stone Inscriptions—SII, Vol. V,
      Nos. 1120 — dated 1068 A.D.
      1121 — dated in Regnal year 32 (Anka 39)
      1122 — Undated
      1123 — dated 1058 A.D.
      1133 — dated in Regnal year 30 (Anka 35)

   The Mandasa and Parlakimidi Plates of the region of Anantavarma Vajrahasta mention Ugrakheḍi and Dharmakheḍi as officers of the Gangas and as belonging to the Kadamba family. A few other Ganga records also were issued by the Kadamba rulers. The following records mention Kadambas.

Grant	*Date*	*Ganga king*	*Kadamba*
Vishamagiri C.P. (C.P. No. 9 of 1917-18)	—	Indravarma	Nāgakheḍi
Parlakimidi C.P. (*Ep. Ind.*, Vol. III, pp. 220-224)	—	Vajrahasta	Sri Udayakheḍi Rāṇaka Ugrakhedi-
Mandasa C.P. (C.P. No. 12 of 1917-18).	1054 A.D.	Vajrahasta	Bhimakheḍi | Dharmakheḍi
Vizagapatam C.P. (*Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XVIII, pp. 145-146)	747 A.D.	Devendravarma	Dharmakheḍi
Simhapura C.P. (*JAHRS*, Vol. III, pp. 171-180).	1013 A.D.	Devendravarma	Nayārṇava | Bhīmakheḍi | Dharmakheḍi
Kambakaya C.P. (*Bharati*, Vol. IV, Nov. 1927, pp. 115-130; *JAHRS*, Vol. X, pp. 116-119).	1181 A.D.	Devendravarma	Dharmakheḍi | Udayāditya

The Chālukyas of Vengi were closely related to the Choḷas of Thanjavur. Ammaṅgadevi, the daughter of Rājendra Choḷa I (1012-42 A.D.) was given in marriage to Rājarāja Narendra of Vengi[1] and their son Rājendra Choḍa married Madhurāntaki, the daughter of Rajendradeva Choḷa II (1042-62). The Choḷa influence was, therefore, predominant over Vengi.[2] However, Vijayaditya VII, the last Chālukyan ruler, came under the influence of Someśvara I, the Western Chālukyan monarch. Therefore, Vīra Rājendra, to re-establish the Choḷa influence at the Chālukyan Court, invaded Veṅgi. The records[3] of Vīra Rājendra state that he conquered Vengi and Kaliṅga upto the Mahendra Mountain and Chakrakoṭṭam by about 1067 A.D. Most probably this Choḷa invasion took place during the last years of the reign of Anantavarma Vajrahasta V and the latter was defeated by the Choḷa emperor. However, the records of Vajrahasta do not mention any invasion of Kaliṅga by the Choḷas during his reign.

Anantavarma Vajrahasta V is attributed with the epithets Paramamāheśvara and Paramabhaṭṭāraka. While the former signifies his Śaiva faith, the latter shows his Vaishnava inclination. Most probably, by the time of Vajrahasta V, the Vaishnava sect might have become popular and therefore the Gangas also had to patronise it. Within a few years, during the rule of Anantavarma Choḍaganga, the popularity of the Vaishnava faith had reached its zenith. Moreover, the seals on the plates of Vajrahasta also show the emblems of bull, trident, half-moon, conch etc.

Rājarāja Devendravarma VII[4] (1070-77 A.D.) ascended the Ganga throne after the death of his father Anantavarma Vajrahasta. The records[5] of Anantavarma Choḍagaṅga, the son of Devendravarma-VII, state that the latter ruled for eight years. Therefore the accession of Devendravarma must have taken place in 1069-70 A.D. In the same year in which Rājarāja ascended the Kaliṅga throne, i.e. 1070 A.D., the Choḷa emperor Vīra Rājendra died and within a short time his successor Adhirājendra was also killed in the wake of a revolt. Consequently, the Choḷa throne fell vacant and anarchy prevailed in the Choḷa dominions for a short period. Rājendra Choḍa of Vengi, who was a heir to the Choḷa throne through both his mother and his wife, left Veṅgi and enthroned himself at Gangaikoṇḍacoḷāpuraṁ as the Choḷa Emperor Kulottuṅga I in 1070 A.D.[6]

1. N. Venkataramanayya, *The Eastern Chālukyas of Vengi*, p. 226.
2. In fact Choḷas regarded Vengi and also Kaliṅga as being under their hereditory protection; (*Ep. Ind.* Vol. XXV, p. 262).
3. Manimangalam record (*SII*, Vol. III, p. 70).
4. The following records belong to the reign of Rājarāja Devendravarma:
   (a) Matura C.P. dated 1073 A.D. (N. Ramesan, *C.P. Inscriptions of A.P. Govt. Museum*, Hyderabad, Vol. I, pp. 153-159).
   (b) Galavalli C.P. dated 1076 A.D. (*ARE* for 1955-56, p. 14, No. 3; *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXXI, pp. 191 ff).
5. Korni C.P. dated 1112 A.D. (*JAHRS*, Vol. I, pp. 106-124) and Vizagapatam C.P. dated 1118 A.D. (*Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XVIII, pp. 165-172).
6. N. Venkataramanayya, *The Eastern Chālukyas of Vengi*, pp. 272-273; Also see, *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. IV, pp. 263.

Rājarāja Devendravarma was looking for an opportunity to take revenge against the Cholas who earlier defeated his father Anantavarma Vajrahasta during the time of Vīra Rājendra. Finding the Chola position at Vengi very weak, since the main part of the Chola army must have accompanied Rājendra Choḍa to Thanjavur, Rājarāja invaded the South. The Dirghasi epigraph[1] dated 1075 A.D. states that Baṇapati, the Brāhman commander of Rājarāja conqnered Veṅgi and defeated the Choḷa army, Most probably, the Choḷa army which suffered defeat at the hands of Baṇapati was the one stationed at Veṅgi. The records[2] of Choḍaganga also state that Rājarāja defeated the Dravilas and restored Vijayāditya to the throne of Vengi. Vijayāditya-VII, the last Chālukyan ruler of Vengi, previously fled to the Ganga court when Vīra Rājendra invaded Vengi and Kaliṅga and later continued to stay at Kaliṅganagara waiting for an opportunity to reconquer Vengi with the help of the Gangas. He was ultimately restored to the throne of Vengi by Rājarāja Devendravarma after the latter defeated the Choḷas and conquered Vengi

To save Vengi from the hands of the Eastern Gangas and their protege Vijayaditya VII, Kulottunga I despatched an army under Pallavarāyan. The records[3] in the Yudhishṭhira and Kuntī temples situated on the Mahendra Mountain state that Pallavarāyan defeated Kulūtēśvara (Vijayaditya VII) and raised Pillars of Victory commemorating that event. This evidence shows that Pallavarāyan, the general of Kulottunga I, conquered the whole of the territory of Kaliṅga lying upto the Mahendra Mountain in the north.

The above evidence shows that both the Eastern Gangas and the Choḷas claimed victory in a conflict which took place before 1075 A.D. However, it is most probable that Kulottunga I must have made peace with Rājarāja. Kulottunga was still involved in suppressing all opposition in his southern dominions and establishing the throne at Thanjavur. Naturally, therefore, he must have thought it convenient to have allies rather than enemies in the north thereby everting any danger to his empire from that direction. Thus, he was forced to make friendship with Rājarāja soon after the latter demonstrated his prowess by the capture of Vengi. As the records[4] of Choḍaganga show, Kulottunga I alias Rājendra Choḍa gave his daughter Rājasundari in marriage to Rājarāja Devendravarma. Kulottunga might have also agreed to allow Vijayāditya to occupy the Vengi throne during the latter's lifetime. Thus, Rājarāja was able to take revenge against the Choḷas and to restore Vijayāditya, at the same

1. *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. IV, pp. 314-318.
2. Korni C.P. dated 1112 A.D. (*JAHRS*, Vol. I, pp. 105-124) and Vizagapatam C.P. dated 1118 A.D. (*Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XVIII, pp. 165-172).
3. *SII*, Vol. V, Nos. 1351 and 1352.
4. Korni C.P. dated 1112 A.D. (*JAHRS*, Vol. I, pp. 105-124) and Vizagapatam C.P. dated 1118 A.D. (*Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XVIII, pp. 165-172) of Anantavarma Choḍaganga state that his father Rājarāja married Rājasundari, daughter of the Choḷa king.

time, to the throne of Vengi[1].

In the Dirghasi inscription[2], Baṇapati, the general of Rājarāja, claims to have conquered Khimidi, Kosala and Oḍḍadeśa. Thus, this record indicates the northern conquests of the king. He fared equally well in the South. The presence of his record at Nārāyaṇapuram in Viśākhapaṭṇaṁ District goes to show that a part of Madhyama Kaliṅga was included in the empire of Rājarāja. In his Drākshārāmam record,[3] Rājarāja is attributed with the title of Trikaliṅgādhipati. Except for this reference, there is no other concrete evidence to show that his empire extended upto the Godavari in the south.

Rājarāja Devendravarma, like his predecessors, is described as a follower of Śiva. Moreover, the Vizagepatam Plates[4] of Choḍaganga dated in 1135 A.D. record the building of a temple by his father for Śiva in the form of Rājarājeśvara, named after Rājarāja. The Nīlakanṭheśvara temple inscription[5] at Nārāyaṇapuram records the installation of the image of Āditya or Sun-god. Thus for the first time we find a Ganga ruler patronising the worship of Sun which reached its zenith later in the building of the Sun temple at Konarak.

Anantavarma Choḍagaṅga is stated in his records to have succeeded his father Rājarāja Devendravarma to the Ganga throne in 1077-78 A.D. The date of Choḍaganga's accession cannot be determined with certainty since the political history of this period was obscure.[6] There was a severe contest for the throne between Choḍa-

1. What happened during the last years of the reign of Rājarāja is not known. He is said to have ruled only for 8 years and it is only a few years after his marriage with Rājasundari that their son Choḍaganga is stated to have ascended the Ganga throne. Therefore, by 1077 A.D., the date of accession of Choḍaganga, his father Rājarāja might not have been very old. This suggests that Rājarāja might have died suddenly and there is no evidence to explain its nature or cause. The date of the death of Rājarāja cannot be determined with certainty. The Galavalli Plates (*Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXXI, p. 191 f) show that he was alive in 1076 A.D. But still Baṇapati claims in 1081 A.D. (*SII*, Vol. IV, No. 1006, Drākshārāmam inscription) that he was the prime Minister of Rājarāja. It is possible that Baṇapati might have retired from active political life after the death of Rājarāja and was on a pilgrimage with his family to Drākshārāmam at the time of the issue of his record and, in his anxiety to show his unforgettable gratitude to his master, he might have described himself as the Prime Minister of Rājarāja.
2. *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. IV, pp. 314-318.
3. *SII*, Vol. IV, No. 1006.
4. *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XVIII, pp. 172-176.
5. *Ann. Rep. on S. Ind., Ep.* for 1926-27, No. C40.
6. The date of Choḍaganga's accession cannot be determined with certainty. A record of Choḍaganga is dated in 1146 A.D. in his 72nd regnal year, thereby showing that his accession took place in 1074 A.D. (*SII*, Vol. V, No. 1343). Another record of his is dated in 1150 A.D. in his 75th regnal year and this shows that his succession took place in 1075 A.D. (*SII*, Vol. V, No. 1342). According to R. Subba Rao the delay of two years for the coronation of Choḍaganga occurred because his father was alive until 1077 A. D. (*JAHRS*, Vol. VI. p. 216). At the time of his accession, Choḍaganga must have been a boy of 6 or 7 years old for his mother Rājasundari was married to Rājaraja only after the defeat of the Choḷa army by the latter which event must have taken place sometime between 1070 A.D. and 1075 A.D.

ganga and his half-brother Devendravarma[1]. When Rājarāja declared Choḍagaṅga as his successor in 1074 A.D. overlooking the claims of his elder son Devendravarma, the latter occupied a part of Kaliṅga and crowned himself as king. This can also be substantiated by the following evidence. According to the '*Kalingattuparaṇi*'[2] of Jayaṅkoṇḍār, Kulottunga I sent an army under his general Karuṇākara Toṇḍaimān to establish his supremacy in the North and the latter conquered Sapta-Kaliṅgas and Utkala. The records[3] of Kulottunga I also state that he conquered Kaliṅga and described him as the lord of the whole country between the Ganga in the North and the Cauveri in the South. Rājarāja Choḍaganga, the Chālukya-Choḷa viceroy of Vengi, claims in an inscription dated in the 17th year of Kulottunga (1086-87 A.D.) that the whole territory lying in between the Manneru (in Nellore District) and the Mahendragiri (in Srīkākuḷam District) was under his rule.[4] Thus we find that a Choḷa army invaded Kaliṅga and Utkala and most probably this event took place before the year 1086 A.D. Choḍaganga was closely related to the Choḷas through his mother Rājasundari and, thus, he was a grandson of Kulottunga I. Moreover, Choḍaganga was a mere lad at the time of his accession. When Devendravarma disputed the succession of Choḍagaṅga, and occupied a part of Kaliṅga and then began to rule independently, naturally Kulottunga I would not have kept quiet. He sent an army under Karuṇākara Toṇḍaimān, which was reinforced at Vengi by an army under Pallavarāja,[5] to help the boy-king Choḍaganga to establish himself firmly on the throne by putting an end to the rival claimant Devendravarma and bringing the whole of Kaliṅga under the rule of Choḍagaṅga. The Choḷa army, after achieving its objectives for which it was sent, marched further north and taking advantage of the weak rule of the Kesaris, it conquered Utkala by defeating one of the last kings of the Kesari dynasty. It is probable that the Choḷa army, which was sent to help Choḍaganga, stayed on in the region of Mukhaliṅgaṁ for a considerable time, as

1. The succession of Choḍaganga was a disputed one and he had to contend with his half-brother. The Gara inscription shows that one Devendravarma was ruling over a part of Kaliṅga in 1083 A.D., and he came to the throne in 1076 A.D.; for h s record was issued in his 7th regnal year. (*Ann. Rep. on S. Ind. Ep.* for 1932-33, No. 391, p. 56, para 9). The Drākshārāmam record dated in the 33rd regnal year of Kulottunga I (i.e., 1103 A.D.) states that Pallavarāyan, a vassel of the Chālukya-Choḷas defeated Devendravarma, t e king of Kaliṅga. (*SII*, Vol. IV, No. 1239; *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXIII, pp. 138-145). Though the Kambakāya Plates are differently read by different scholars, most probably they were issued in 1031 A.D. by Devendravarma to whose period the record can be assigned on paleographical grounds also. (*JAHRS*, Vol. X, p. 120; Also see *Bharati*, Vol. V, Nov. 1927, pp. 115-130 and *JAHRS*, Vol. X, pp. 116-119). The above ep.graphical evidence goes to prove that one Devendravarma was ruling over Kaliṅga shortly after the demise of Rājaraja. Most probably, Devendravarma was a half-brother of Choḍaganga and also older than the latter.
2. *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XIX, pp. 319-345.
3. *SII*, Vol. IV, No. 1029; *Ibid*, Vol. VI, No. 1144; *Ann. Rep. on S. Ind., Ep.* for 1904-05, pp. 44-45; Also see *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. VI, p. 335.
4. Teki C.P. Line 83; *Manneṭi-Mahendra-madhya-vartino*. (*Ep. Ind.*, Vol. VI, p. 335).
5. Pallavarāja, a general of the Chālukya-Choḷa of Vengi, claims to have defeated Devendravarma, the king of Kalinga; (*SII*, Vol. IV, No. 1239; *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXII, pp. 138-145).

in the inscriptions[1] hailing from Mukhaliṅgaṁ, a number of persons of Tamil extraction figure prominently.

The Kendupaṭna[2] and Pūri[3] Plates of Narasiṁhadeva, a later Ganga ruler, mention the conquest of Utkala by Choḍoganga. The '*Mādalāpañji*', the temple chronicle of Puri states that Choḍaganga killed Suvarṇa Kesari, the last ruler of the Kesari dynasty that ruled over Utkala, and occupied Cuttack in 1134 A.D.[4] A late record[5] also gives the same account but says that Choḍaganga came from the Karṇāta region. An earlier record[6] of Choḍagaṅga found in the Mārkaṇḍeśvara temple at Puri is dated in his 37th regnal year i.e., 1115 A.D. A still earlier record[7] belonging to the reign of Choḍagaṅga found in the Lingarāja temple in Bhubaneswar is dated 1114 A.D. The above evidence shows that Anantavarma Choḍaganga conquered Utkala by 1114 A.D. and put an end to the Kesari dynasty that was ruling over that region. That Choḍaganga annexed the Utkala region soon after its conquest is known from his Vizagapatam Plates[8] dated 1118 A.D. which describe him as a savereign ruler of Utkala.

It is also stated in the Korni[9] and Visagapatam[10] Plates of Choḍaganga dated 1112 A.D. and 1118 A.D. respectively, that he defeated the king of Vengi but reinstated him thereafter. The Srikurmam inscription[11] of Choḍaganga dated 1135 A.D. mentions him as the king of the whole region between the Ganga in the North and the Godavari in the South. The Choḷa army, sent earlier to help Choḍaganga, was still stationed at Mukhaliṅgaṁ. Moreover, the Chālukya-Choḷas of Vengi were still trying to keep their hold on Choḍaganga. Choḍaganga was, therefore, looking for an opportunity to get rid of the influence of Vengi over the affairs in Kaliṅga. In 1118 A.D. Vikrama Choḷa, the Chālukya-Choḷa ruler of Vengi, had to leave Vengi for Thanjavur when his father Kulottunga I died. He handed over the Vengi region to the Velanāṭi chief Kulottunga Rājendra Choḍa to rule over it as his feudatory. At this moment, Choḍaganga might have invaded the South and conquered Vengi. However, his main aim might have been the annexation of the remaining portions of Kaliṅga to his empire. Therefore, as stated in his records, he might have reinstated the Vengi ruler after annexing the whole territory upto the Godavari in the South. Thus we find for the first time, five centuries after Indravarma I, that the whole of Kaliṅga from the Mahendra Mountain in the north upto the Godavari in the south

1. *SII*, Vol. V, Nos. 1060, 1089, 1130, etc.
2. *J. of As. Soc. of Beng.* Vol. LXV, Pt. I, No. 3, pp. 239-272.
3. *Ibid.*, Vol. LXIV, Pt. I. No. 2, pp. 128-155.
4. Quoted by R. Subha Rao, *History of the Eastern Gangas of Kalinga*, p. 137.
5. Madras Local Records, No. 14-6-22.
6. *Ann. Rep. on. Ind. Ep.* for 1957-58, p. 57, No. 408.
7. *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXX, pp. 29 ff.
8. *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XVIII, p. 165-172.
9. *JAHRS*, Vol. I, pp. 106-124.
10. *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XVIII, pp. 165-172.
11. *SII*, Vol. V, No. 1335.

being brought under the rule of a Ganga king. The annexation of the southern territories must have been accomplished by 1118 A.D.[1]

The couquests[2] of Choḍaganga enumerated above enlarged the Ganga empire to such an extent that it touched the Mahānadi in the North and the Godavari in the South. In order to rule over this extensive territory, he transferred his capital from Mukhalingaṁ to Cuttack in about 1135 A.D.,[3] for the latter place was more centrally located and also provided an ideal capital from which he could effectively subjugate the newly conquered regions.

As a result of the matrimonial relations between the Gangas and the Choḷa invasions of Kaliṅga the region of Mukhaliṅgaṁ was subject to Tamil influence to a considerable extent. During the reign of Anantavarma Choḍaganga, the Tamil influence was most predominant at Mukhaliṅgaṃ.[4] The records hailing from that place mention a number of Tamilian officers.[5] One inscription[6] mentions Maṅdana described as a Chālukya-Choḷa-Ganga. Some of the epigraphs[7] at Mukhaliṅgaṁ mention that adjacent to that place was a tract known as Choḍanāḍu. The name of this administrative division was obviously derived from the impact of the Choḷas on this region.

Choḍaganga, like his predecessors, is described as a follower of Śiva. The seal of his copper plates also shows the Śaiva emblem of bull. Moreover, he and his queens offered gifts to Śiva at Mukhaliṅgaṁ, Drākshārāmam and other places.

1. That the Velanāṭi chiefs of the Vengi region continued to give trouble to Choḍaganga is known from one of their records dated in 1135 A.D. in which it is stated that Velanāṭi Choḍa, the brother of Kulottunga Rājendra Choḍa, conquerred Kaliṅga and Cuttack. *SII*, Vol. IV, No. 662) Gonkarāja II, another Velanāṭi chief, also claims to have vanquished the lords of Kaṭaka and Trikaliṅga. (*SII*, Vol. IV, Nos. 1113, 1164; *Ibid*, Vol. VI, No. 123). However, there is no other evidence to substantiate these claims of the Velaṇāṭis as we find Choḍaganga in firm control of Kaliṅga and Cuttack during that period.
2. During the reign of Anantavarma Choḍaganga, the Ganga empire reached its zenith. With his conquests and the consequent extension of his empire, the number and nature of the imperial titles attributed to a Ganga ruler also had become elaborated. Choḍaganga is attributed in his records with the epithets of imperial nature like *Mahārāja*, *Rajādhirāja*, and *Rājaparameśvara*. Moreover, he is described in the Mukhalingam records as the central Pillar to the house of the Ganga dynasty and as the great king of kings (*SII*, Vol. V, No. 1095). Anantavarma Choḍaganga was a man of great substance. In his records we are told that he had defeated a number of his enemies. For this task he raised a huge army consisting of infantry and elephants. His elephant force numbered about 99,000. From his title *Rantadeva* it can also be surmised that he had a cavalry force at his disposal.
3. That Mukhaliṅgaṁ continued to be Choḍaganga's capital until 1135 A.D. can be known from his Srikurmam inscription (*SII* Vol. V, No. 1335).
4. This led a scholar even to go so far as to claim that the language and script of the Gangas was Tamil. (B.C. Majumdar, *Orissa in the Making*, p. 205).
5. *SII*, Vol. V, Nos. 1060, 1089, 1130, etc. Also see *Ann. Rep. on S. Ind.*, Ep. 1936, para 16.
6. *Ibid.*, No. 1089.
7. *SII*, Vol. V, No. 1014.

During his reign a number of endowments were made to Madhukeśvara, the presiding deity of Mukhaliṅgeśvara temple. Not only the members of the royal family but also common people gave to the temple gifts in kind and cash. For the maintenance of the temple ritual, endowments were made in favour of the courtesans, singers, musicians and the like. A number of endowments for the temple were kept up from the proceeds of the lands situated in and around Mukhaliṅgaṁ. With the growth of the temple ritual, a Śaivite priestly class settled itself at Mukhaliṅgaṁ. One of the records[1] from the temple mentions one Mādhavabhaṭṭu as a priest of the temple.

The reign of Choḍaganga is notable for different reasons. He was the first Ganga ruler to bring about a substantial change in the religious outlook of the people. Kings prior to him were mostly ardent devotees of Śiva. Choḍaganga was the first to patronise Vaishnavism on an equal footing with Śaivism. He is described as a Paramavaishnava and Paramabhaṭṭāraka. Moreover, the Gāra[2] and Srikurmam[3] epigraphs record his gifts to Vishnu. The catholicity of Choḍaganga is also exhibited in the gifts made to the temple of the Sun god at Arasavilli (near Srīkākuḷaṁ) during his reign and they indirectly go to show his patronage of Sun worship along with other cults.[4]

Mukhalingaṁ has been variously mentioned in the records as Nagara, Kaliṅganagara, and Jayantīpura. Its importance can be known from the various epithets used in the inscriptions. It is mentioned as the important city of Trikaliṅga. It has been described as a place which was comfortable and pleasant in all seasons. The splendour of Choḍaganga's Royal Court at Mukhaliṅgaṁ is reflected in the large number of epigraphs found there belonging to his reign. During his rule Mukhaliṅgaṁ became a centre of pilgrimage. The temples situated there attracted devotees from places far and wide Pilgrims from Drākshārāmam, Pishṭhapura, Siṁhapura, and Dantapura used to visit Mukhaliṅgaṁ and make endowments for the deities there. However, with the transfer of his capital to Cuttack by Choḍaganga, the importance of Mukhaliṅgaṁ gradually declined. With the growth of the popularity of Vaishnavism under the patronage of Choḍaganga and his successors, Mukhaliṅgaṁ had also lost much of its former importance as a centre of pilgrimage. However, the successors, of Choḍaganga continued to make endowments to Madhukeśvara. The temple walls record[5] donations of even of the time of Gajapatis who succeeded to the empire of the Gangas in 1434 A.D.

Thus, the historical background of the Mukhaliṅgaṁ region shows that this tract had a hoary antiquity. The Eastern Gangas, in spite of their political and dynastic struggles, laid the foundations for the growth of Brahmanical institutions in this region. It was this development of Brahmanical culture that led to the building of the temples at Mukhaliṅgaṁ. In the following chapters an analysis of the architectural, sculptural and iconographical wealth of these temples is attempted.

1. *SII*, Vol. V, No. 1118.
2. *ARSIE*, 1933, Para 9.
3. *SII*, Vol. V, 1335.
4. *Ibid.*, Nos. 1342, 1343. 1344.
5. *SII*, Vol. V, Nos. 1006 and 1119.

CHAPTER TWO

ARCHITECTURE

The problem of the origin and development of temple architecture in India is a complicated one. The genesis and the growth of temple architecture underwent a long process of evolution. Scholars trace this evolution from the temples of the Guptas on the one hand and from those of the Early Chālukyas on the other. While the Gupta temples are located in the region of Madhya Pradesh, those of the Early Chālukyas are confined to the Dharwar region in Mysore.

The rise to power of the Imperial Guptas in the first quarter of 4th century A.D. marks the effloroscence of Brahmanical religion and the consequent accompaniment of temple-building and sculpture-producing activity. "Seldom in the history of peoples do we find a period in which the national genius is so fully and typically expressed in all the arts as in Gupta India".[1] The Gupta period is described as classical age. "The decisive innovation of the Gupta period is the Hindu temple".[2] The early temples built by the Guptas consist of a flat-roofed shrine built on a square ground plan with a pillared portico in front of it. The interior is severely plain and the doorway of the sanctum is an expanded one and is richly carved with the figures of Gangā and Yamunā adorning its upper angles. The pillar ls characterised by a square pedestal, a many-sided shaft and a vase capital. These architectural features are found in all the early temples of the Guptas at places like Sanchi, Tigowa, Bhumara and Nachna which are datable to 5th century A.D. Apart ftom the temples of stone, a brick temple with a north Indian tower belonging to the Gupta period and datable to 5th century A.D. is found at Bhitargaon. The vertical effect of its tower is well balanced by the tiers of ornamental *chaityas* in horizontal courses. The plan is square and the walls are decorated with terracotta panels. The culmination of the Gupta style was reached in the Daśāvatāra temple at Deogarh which

1. Benjamin Rowland, *The Art and Architecture of India*, p. 121.
2. Hermann Coetz, *Art of the World ; India*, p. 87.

was built probably in the first half of 6th century A.D. Here, it appears, the Gupta artist fairly succeeded in evolving a full-fledged temple as a result of the experience which he derived from the experimentation in building the earlier temples. Standing on a high terrace and with a pillared portico projecting from each of the four sides of the sanctum the Deogarh temple is "one of the most ornate and beautifully composed examples of Gupta architecture".[1] Instead of the flat-roof of the earlier Gupta temples, the builders raised a curvilinear tower terminating in an *āmalaka* In the vertical elevation the tower carried a central band on all four sides. Scholars describe this tower as the typical example of north Indian or *Nagara* style of temple architecture.[2] The ornamentation of the doorway and of the pillars was increased. In addition, we find in the centre of each of the three side walls of the sanctum a niche enshrining a divine image. Though the tower and the porticos of the temple at Deogarh are now in ruins, "when complete, this building was unquestionably one of rare merit in the correct ordering of its parts, all alike serving the purpose of practical utility, yet imbued with supreme artistic feeling"[3].

Contemporaneous with the building of the Gupta temples in the North, a movement of great significance was afoot in the Deccan as well. Here, beginning with the Ladh Khan temple at Aihole (5th century A.D.), a series of experiments were made by the Early Chālukyan craftsmen, independent of the Gupta movement but no doubt influenced by it, to evolve a full-fledged temple that suited their imagination and also the needs of the Brahmanical faith. In the construction of the Ladh Khan, known to be the earliest temple in south India, a secular structure, namely *santagara* or village meeting hall, was adapted. That the Chālukyan craftsmen copied even the earlier Buddhist examples and tried to adapt them to the Brahmanical needs in their effort to evolve a complete structure, can be known from the Durgā temple at Aihole (6th century A.D.) which was built after the apsidal Buddhist *Chaitya* hall. The Huchchimalligudi (6th century A.D.) and the Meguti Jain (634 A.D.) temples, both at Aihole, also formed part of this experimentation. These earlier temples at Aihole were probably intended to be of the flat-roofed variety like the earlier temples of the Guptas, but in order to distinguish the cella from other parts of the structure the Chālukyan craftsmen had ultimately added a short tower over the temple.[4] To the apsidal Durgā temple a tower of the *Nagara* variety was added. But later in the case of the Huchchimalligudi a tower was added for the first time over a square sanctum. It was probably of the early Dravidian type characterised by storeyed arrangement in its elevation.[5] The centre of the movement now

1. Benjamin Rowland, *The Art and Architecture of India*, p. 127.
2. Percy Brown, *Indian Architecture* (Buddhist and Hindu Periods) Plate XLI (6).
3. *Ibid.*, p. 50.
4. Percy Brown remarks that the towers were added later *Indian Architecture* (Buddhist and Hindu Periods), p. 52.
5. The small square shrine over the flat roof of the Ladh Khan temple also suggests that the Chālukyan crafsmen originally intended to crown it with a storeyed pyramidal tower of the Dravidian type. But Henry Cousens stoutly denies this surmise and remarks that a *śikhara* over this little shrine would have looked ridiculous". (*The Chālukyan Architecture of the Kanarese Districts*, p. 34.).

shifted to the nearby Bādāmi and Paṭṭaḍakal. Not satisfied with their experiments at Aihole, the Chālukyan craftsmen began their efforts anew at Paṭṭaḍakal[1] where temples of the two styles, namely, *Nagara* and *Draviḍa*, were built side by side. The temple of Pāpanātha, built in about 680 A.D. has a curvilineer north Indian type of tower over its sanctum which marks an advance on those of the Guptas and the earlier ones at Aihole and even the niches in its walls are crowned by north Indian pediments. The Virūpāksha temple, which was built in *c.* 740 A.D., on the other hand, has a Draviḍian or south Indian type of tower looking like a terraced pyramid.[2] That the Chālukyan craftsmen reached maturity in temple-building by the beginning of 8th century A.D., can be known from the logical plan, the coherent arrangement of parts, the improved architectural embellishment and the superb quality of the applied art of the Virūpāksha temple.

The quest for evolving a complete temple was not confined to north India and the Deccan only. In the further South at Mahābalipuram,[3] also known as Māmallapuram, the Pallava craftsmen began their experiments with *maṇḍapas* and monolithic *rathas* in the second half of 7th century A.D. and then a few years later attempted the construction of a structural temple. The Shore Temple[4] at Mahābalipuram, built towards the end of 7th century A.D. is a double towered temple surrounded by a massive wall. The tower over its *vimāna*, though short, is of the *Draviḍian* variety

1. Scholars generally classify the Indian temples into the styles, namely *Nagara* and *Dravida*, on the difference in the shape of *śikhara*. The *Nagara*, also known as the Indo-Aryan type, has a square *śikhara* and the temples of this type are largely found in Northern India. The Dravidian type with octagonal *śikhara* are confined to south India. This geographical distribution of the two styles of the temples, however, is not strictly limited and temples of the Indo-Aryan type are found as far South as Dharwar and those of the Dravidian variety as far North as Ellore. And at Paṭṭaḍakal buildings of the two styles exist side by side. The temples of a third style with round *śikharas* known as the *Vesara* are found in Western India and Deccan. However, K.V. Soundara Rajan considers *Vesara* "as standing almost entirely for the apsidal group of temples" (*Journal of Indian History*, Vol. XLIII, Pt. III, December 1965, p 780). Most of the Sanskrit texts also mention the above three styles of temple architecture. However, the *Mānasāra* (*Adhyāya*, XXX, vv. 5-10) and *Kāmikagāma* (Stella Kramrisch, *The Hindu Temple*, pp. 286-295) add a fourth type of temple style known as *Kaliṅga* and this four-fold division is also supported by an inscription from Holal in Karnataka (*MER*, 1914-15, p. 90).
2. The Virūpāksha temple at Paṭṭaḍakal "was most likely built by workmen brought from Kāñchipuram, and in direct imitation of the Kailasanātha at Kāñchipuram" (A.K. Coomaraswamy, *History of Indian and Indonesian Art*, p. 95).
3. Mahābalipuram is regarded as "the birth place of South Indian Architecture and Sculpture". (O. C. Ganoly and A. Goswami, *The Art of the Pallavas*, p. 14).
4. "It is very likely that the Chālukyas influenced this type of temple, which is usually classified as purely Draviḍian. Actually we find the same characteristics in it as in the Chālukya temples. The square cella is surmounted by a square tower which also consists of several super-imposed storeys on which miniature models of buildings may be noted. The dome is here slightly different and ends in a finial. This top may derive from the *āmalaka* of the Chālukya *śikharas* or have been inspired by them" (Louis Frederic, *Indian Temples and Sculpture*, p. 188).

and is an elongated and elaborated form of its prototype over the Dharmarāja ratha, "its pyramidal shape being refined in more light and elegant proportions".[1] A new motif known as the leogriff or rampant lion appears in the pilasters. However, it was at Kāñchipuram that the fully developed Dravidian temples were built. The Kailāsanātha (*c.* 700 A.D.) and the Vaikuṇṭha Perumāḷ (*c.* 710 A.D.) temples at Kāñchīpuram testify to the maturity attained by the Pallava artists in the construction of temples. The tower of the Shore Temple was further elaborated and reached the full Draviḍian form at Kāñchīpuram. The tower over the Vaikuṇṭha Perumāḷ is in four storeys and is as high as 60 feet from the ground. Its plan is logical and all the parts of the temple like the cella, the portico and the cloisters are arranged as a unified whole. Even the suggestion of a *gopuram*, that soaring entrance gateway which was to characterise the later south Indian temples, can be seen in the small chapel built at the entrance of the Kailāsanātha temple in place of the main gateway.

Though the north Indian or *Nagara* type of temple had its birth in the region of Madhya Pradesh and further experimentation and development in the Dharwar region, it was in Orissa that a fully evolved temple of that style was to be built. The vigorous movement and temple-building activity that began in Orissa in the beginning of 7th century A.D. lasted for more than six hundred years. Fortunately for Orissa, a text on temple architecture enumerating the different types of the temples in the region, known as "*Bhubanapradīpa*", is well preserved.[2] It classifies Orissan temples or *deuls* into four types, namely, *Rekha*, *Bhadra*, *Khakhara*, and *Gouriya*. Of these four types, the first two are very common and the third and the fourth are limited to six and two examples respectively.[3] The *Rekha* and *Bhadra* are square in plan but differ in the shape of their towers. Whereas the *Rekha deul* has a curvilinear tower with an emphasis on its verticality, the tower of the *Bhadra*, also known as '*Piḍha deul*' like that of the Draviḍian temples, is a terraced pyramid with prominent horisontal lines. The interior of the *Rehka* temple, like the others, is severely plain but its exterior is divided by projections called *rathakas* or *pagas*, and according to the number of the divisions they are classified into *tri-ratha*, *pañcha-ratha*, *sapta-ratha* and so on. In Orissa, a temple is usually a combination of both *Rekha* and *Pidha*, also known as *Jagamohana*, the latter standing in front of the former. Two more structures known as *Nat-mandir* and *Bhog-mandir* were added at a later date to the above two buildings to form a camplete temple. The *Khakhara deul* stands on a rectangular ground plan, unlike the square *Rekha* and *Bhadra*, which is necessitated by its wagon-topped roof. The *Gouriya* type had failed to exert any influence on the development of architectural style in Orissa.

The Paraśurāmeśvara temple at Bhubanesvar, the earliest of the Orissan

1. O. C. Gangoly and A. Goswami, *The Art of the Pallavas*, p. 19.
2. For "*Bhubanapradipa*" see N. K. Bose "*Canons of Orissan Architecture*".
3. N.K. Bose, "*Canons of Orissan Architecture*, p. 78.

temples, was built in the middle of 7th century A.D.[1] It is a small temple with a curvilinear tower over its sanctum and with a rectannular *Jagamohana* in front of it.[2] The architectural features and the plastic art of the Paraśurāmeśvara and the later Vaital *deul* had, as we shall see later, greatly influenced the building style of the temples at Mukhaliṅgaṁ. The Vaital *deul*, built in the middle of 8th century A.D., is the best example of the *Khakhara* type with an imposing barrel roof over its sanctum and, in addition, four *Rekha deuls* are added to the four corners of its *Jagamohana* suggesting the heralding of a *pañchāyatana* (five-shrined) type of temples. The latter arrangement can also be seen in the Madhukeśvara temple at Mukhaliṅgaṁ. The next important temple at Bhubanesvar is the Mukteśvara which was built in the second half of 10th century A.D. So far the temples at Bhubanesvar have been of *tri-ratha* plan but with Mukteśvara the plan changes to *pañcha-ratha* type. Its *Jagamohana* also becomes fully formed into a regular *Piḍha deul.*

Architectural Peculiarities of the Mukhaliṅgaṁ temples

No scholar has previously attempted to correctly identify the travelling of the architectural traditions into the region of Kaliṅga. Percy Brown ventured to suggest that the temples of Mukhaliṅgaṁ were anterior to the temples of Bhubanesvar and the architectural practices of the Orissan craftsmen were derived from the Chālukyan territory in Mysore through Mukhaliṅgaṁ. A careful examination of Mukhaliṅgaṁ temples, however, reveals that the direction of flow of traditions was from north to south and not *vice versa.* This can be corroborated from the close connections which existed between Orissa and the Mukhaliṅgaṁ region in the development of local culture.

In the earlier chapter we have referred to the establishment of the Eastern Ganga dynasty at Mukhaliṅgaṁ by the close of the 5th century A.D. The Eastern Gangas worshipped Gokarṇasvāmi of Mahendra Mountain is situated to the north of Mukhaliṅgaṁ on the southern border of Orissa. In a similar fashion religious ideas connected with Śaivism must have flowed South from Orissa since by that time Śaivism replaced Buddhism as the dominating religion in that region.

The *Pāśupata* Śaivism, which had its origin in Western India, reached Mukhaliṅgaṁ via Madhya Pradesh and Orissa. Just as the religious ideas were transmitted into this region, the constructional practices, which were current in Orissa, found their way into Mukhaliṅgaṁ. In the shape of the base mouldings, in the arrangement of the niches on the wall-portion and in the shape of the *śikhara*, apart from

1. K.C. Panigrahi takes Śatrughneśvara to be the earliest of the temples and assigns it *c.* 575 A. D. According to him, the Paraśurāmeśvara was built in *c.* 650 A.D. (*Archaeological Remains at Bhubaneswar*, pp. 146-148). However, Percy Brown assigns *c.* 750 A.D. as the prabable date of construction of the Paraśurāmeśvara which he considers to be the earliest. (*Indian Architecture*, Buddhist and Hindu Periods, p. 102).
2. The *Jagamohana* of the Paraśurāmeśvara is said to have been built later (Debala Mitra, *Bhubanesvar*, p. 24).

other features, the Mukhaliṅgaṁ temples are strikingly similar to their Orissan counterparts and from the southernmost limit of the Orissan style of temple architecture.

The following architectural features of the Mukhaliṅgaṁ temples go to prove undoubtedly that they are affiliated to the Orissan style. The first, the four corner *Rekha deuls* of the *jagamohana* and the four *pañchayatana* corner shrines in the Madhukeśvara temple are of the early form of Orissan *Rekha* type as represented by the Paraśurameśvara and Śiśireśvara groups of temples at Bhubanesvar. The Someśvara temple is a typical Orissan *rekha deul* and combines the architectural features of both the earlier and later temples at Bhubanesvar. The second, the presence of minor shrines of the *Khakhara* and *Piḍha deul* types in the Madhukeśvara temple to go show that the Mukhaliṅgaṁ craftsmen adopted the prevailing Orissan temple architectural styles. The third, the sanctum of each of the three temples at Mukhaliṅgaṁ has no ceiling on the inside but, instead, there is a corbelled roof above. The fourth, visible only from the inside there is a corbelled arch above the lintel of the doorway of the sanctum of each of the three temples, evidently constructed to relieve the heavy load over it. The last two features are also usually met with in thc case of the Orissan temples.

In the preceding chapter we have seen that even from the 6th century A.D. onwards there were political contracts between the Eastern Gangas of Kaliṅga and the Eastern Chālukyas of coastal Andhra and these contacts facilitated cultural intercourse between thc two regions. In temple architecture, both the Eastern Ganga and the Eastern Chālukyan examples betray the following common features. First, the middle base moulding of the *jagamohana* in the Bhīmeśvara is a fluted one much resembling the *kumuda* moulding of the Draviḍian temples. An early form of this moulding can be seen in the middle base moulding of the *jagamohana* of the Paraśurāmeśvara at Bhubanesvar, to the left of the side doorway. But a more refined form of this moulding can also be seen in some of the Eastern Chālukyan temples. Second, the middle base moulding known as *kumbha*, which forms the main type at Mukhaliṅgam, is also commonly found in the Eastern Chālukyan temples at Biccavolu and other places. Third, the wall portion of the *jagamohāna* is divided by pilasters and this arrangement can be seen in all the Eastern Chālukyan temples. Fourth, the ornamentation at the top of the niches in the Bhīmeśvara definitely betrays Eastern Chālukyan influence.

Another significant feature is that the Madhukeśvara temple is a *pañchāyatana* (five-shrined) type of temple, that is, in addition to the central sanctuary there is a subsidiary shrine in each of the four corners of the temple. This type of arrangement of the temple can also be seen at Bhubanesvar.

In choosing the building material, the craftsmen of the Mukhaliṅgaṁ temples chose the readily available and soft textured khondalite which can even now be seen in the vicinity of Mukhaliṅgaṁ. Khondalite is generally prone to weathering and because of this reason, the sculptures present a damaged spectacle.

The method of construction adopted in building the Mukhaliṅgaṁ temples was the same that was followed in the case of other early temples elsewhere in India. No cementing material was used. Large blocks of stone were placed one upon another in courses and held by a system of balance.

Since it is found that the Mukhaliṅgaṁ temples are affiliated to the Orissan style, nomonclature found in the "*Bhubanapradīpa*" is adopted here for the description of the architectural features of these temples.

Madhukeśvara Temple

The magnificent temple of Madhukeśvara, rising to a height of about 65 feet from the elevated ground and located in the centre of the village, commands at once the devotion and admiration of pilgrims as well as scholars as the main shrine of the place and as the living testimony to its glorious past (Pl. 2). It stands to the west of the main thoroughfare of the village. In front of the temple there is a pillar (*dhvajastaṁbha*), plain and circular in section and about 50 feet high, which stands on a pedestal. The uneven ground is levelled and made as a platform on which the whole temple stands. The temple is surrounded by a high *prākāra* wall. The *prākāra* wall has two gateways, the entrance gateway on the east and an additional one on the south.

The temple faces east and is approached by a flight of steps which are flanked by heralding lions one on either side. The roof of the entrance gateway is suported by two pillars and two corresponding pilasters in the wall. Each of the pillars is a square monolith, plain and unornamented, with bracket capitals. The roof of the gateway consists of a short tiered tower with a wagon-top above it, a copy of the roof of the Orissan *Khakhara deul*. There are three fluted *āmalakas* on its top. The central *āmalaka* is crowned by a *kalaśa* ornamented with lotus petals at the top while the fllanking *āmalakas* are surmounted by a *khapuri* and a *kalaśa*. The tiered body is decorated with a well-projecting *chaitya* arch in the centre.

The entrance gateway leads into a narrow rectangular courtyard in the centre of which is a small Nandi *maṇḍapa*. The latter stands on a high platform on which is found a seated bull facing well.

The temple proper, situated in the centre of a rectangular courtyard (126×85 feet), is approached by another flight of steps and entered through a second gateway on the east *prākāra* wall. The doorjambs of the gateway are well-carved with figure sculpture which include a few erotic couples. Portions of the jambs are left uncarved, the unfinished character indicating some political calamity. The roof of the doorway is that of the *piḍha deul* type. It consists of three platforms, diminishing as they ascend. Each platform is decorated with projections, the upper portion of which is curved inwards and pointed at the top. The same type of projections adorn the towers of the Orissan temples and also that of the Kuntī temple at

Mahendragiri and the short towers of many minor shrines of the modern period found on the way from Mukhaliṅgaṁ to Viśākhapaṭṇam.[1] The tiered trunk is surmounted by *ghaṇṭa*, *beki*, *āmla*, *khapuri* and *kalaśa*. On the top platform of the roof two sedent lions, each seated on a pedestal, are carved on either side of the *āmla* facing north and south.

A high rectangular platform leads to the *jagamohana*, In the centre of this platform can be seen another bull seated on a high pedestal and facing the doorway of the *jagamohana*.

The temple proper consists of two main structures, namely a square *deul* (27 feet side) and a rectangular *jagamohana* (50 × 40 feet) in front of it (Pl. 3). To the four corners of the *jagamohana* are fixed four *rekha deuls* externally but internally conforming to the rectangular plan of the *jagamohana*. Thus, in effect, these four corner shrines of the *jagamohana* do not actually enshrine any deity. This arrangement resembles that of the Vaital *deul* at Bhubanesvar and heralds the *pañchāyatana* (five-shrined) type. The latter can also be seen in its complete form in the Madhukeśvara temple itself. At the four corners of the enclosure wall can be found four subsidiary shrines of the *rekha deul* type, thus transforming the temple into a *pañchāyatana* type.

The *deul* is square internally and stands on a *tri-ratha* plan externally with a wide projection in the centre of its external faces. Vertically the temple can be divided into three sections; the base (*bada*) including the wall portion (*jangha*), tower (*gaṇḍi*) and the apex (*mastaka*). The cubical portion at the base consists of *pabhaga*, *jaṅgha* and *baranda*. The base consists of three mouldings, resembling these of the Paraśurāmeśvara and Vaital-Śiśireśvara groups of temples at Bhubanesvar (Pl. 4) except for the intervening spaces which are wider here. In Orissa they are termed as *pada*, *kumbha* and *pata*. The middle projection is semi-circular in shape and the topmost projection is decorated with *chaitya* arches, human beings, birds, animals and floral motives. Consistent with the *tri-ratha* plan, the base has a wide projection in the centre. The wall portion is severely plain except for the central projection, a feature found in all early temples. The *baranda* moulding, which separates the base from the trunk, resembles the platforms of the *śikara* above. Except for a slight suggestion shown by a wider intervening space between itself and the lowermost platform of the tower, the *baranda* is almost indistinguishable from the trunk.

The tower shows a combination of the features of both *rekha* and *piḍha deul* types of Orissa (Pl.5). Like the *rekha deul*, the trunk of the tower goes up straight

1. This type of decoration first made its appearance on the Kadamba temple in Mysore. The topmost moulding of the *bada*, the *baranda* and the platforms of the *śikhara* of the Kadamba temples are decorated with a uniform series of quadrangular projections. (F. H. Gravely, *An Outline of Indian Temple Architecture*, (Bulletin of the Madras Govt. Museum, New Series, General Section, Vol. III, Pt. II), p. 8.

for more than half of its height and then begins to curve inwards. Thus, in effect, it is a curvilinear tower. Like the *piḍha deul*, it consists of a series of platforms which diminish as they ascend but without the former's pyramidal shape. The horizontal effect of the platforms and the vertical accent emphasized by the central band are well-balanced and impart to the tower a feeling of rhythm and soaring effect in spite of its short and squattish nature. In the plan of the *deul* and the *jagamohana*, in the plain walls of the sanctum and in the arrangement of the tower, the Madhukeśvara temple also resembles the Kadamba temples in Mysore except for the curvilinear shape of the tower and the central band on it.[1] Like the north Indian temples, especially like those of early Orissan temples, the tower of the Madhukeśvara temple has in the centre on each of its faces a well-projecting vertical band which is continued to the top from the base below. And like those of the early Orissan temples, the lower portion of the central band is decorated with a projecting *chaitya* arch on it, the two medallions in the latter being filled with images of the deities carved in relief.

The apex, the crowning part of the tower, consists of a *beki*, an *āmla*, a *bekī*, an *āmla*, a *khapuri*, a *kalaśa* and an *āyudha* (trident here). This featrue of fluted double *āmalakas* over the tower is not usually met with in the case of Orissan temples. This goes to suggest that the craftsmen of Mukhaliṅgaṁ had in mind the apex of the *piḍha deul* but, instead of the *ghaṇṭa* above the first *beki*, they substituted here with another *āmalaka*. In each of the four angles on the topmost platform of the trunk can be found a sedent lion, the four facing different directions, a feature also found on the Orissan temples. In the centre of the same platform on the east can be seen a male seated with his knees upraised and held by a *yogapaṭṭa* tied around them and his body, a feature also found in the case of the Orissan temples but with the figures varying from temple to temple. On the lower *āmalaka* right above the lions and in between the two *āmalakas*, are found seated bulls, resembling those found on the ground, facing different directions.

On the northern side of the *deul* can be found the figure of a Nāgarāja carved on a loose slab and placed at the bottom supported from behind by a projection from the *bada* (Pl.6). The princely figure is canopied under a seven-hooded snake and holds a decorated vase in his two hands placed against his chest. It is artistically and functionally arranged in the form of a spout to drain out the water from inside the cella.

The interior of the *deul* is severely plain like that of the Orissan temples. In the centre of the sanctum is found a faceted *Svayaṁbhū* linga resembling the trunk of a tree with a vertical hole in the middle.[2] The linga stands on a pedestal (*pīṭha*) of the

1. F.H. Gravely, *An Outline of Indian Temple Architecture* (Bulletin of the Madras Govt. Museum, New Series, General Section, Vol. III, Pt. II), Fig. 4.
2. The *Sthalapurāna* gives a traditional story regarding the origin of the linga in the Madhukeśvara temple and states that Śiva appeared from a Madhuka tree and, hence, was called Madhukeśvara (Kakaraparti Krishna Kavi, *Mukhalingakshetra Mahatmyam*, pp. 9-33, Saradamba Vilaśa Press Madraś, 1893).

usual type. The corbelled roof above is shallow and has no ceiling.

The rectangular *jagamohana* in front of the *deul* stands on a low platform. The three horizontal mouldings of its base resemble those of the *deul* except for the lowermost one which is now developed into a fullfledged high moulding (Pl.7). The intervening spaces between the mouldings are narrowed with the result that the whole base resembles the one found in the early Orissan temples.

A number of niches are carved on the wall portion of the *jagamohana*. They contain images of the *parśvadevatas*. Each niche is flanked by pilasters which support a miniature tower. At the top of the *jagamohana*, figures of Nāgarāja carrying vases in their hands can be noticed. They are supported by projections of the wall from behind and are arranged equidistantly. They are artistically and functionally carved and placed to act as spouts to drain out the rain water from over the roof of the *jagamohana*. The jagamohana, instead of having a pyramidal roof, is flat-roofed with the sides of its outer surface slightly sloping from the centre so as to drain out the rain water quickly. The flat-roofed character of the *jagamohana* also corresponds to that arrangement in the case of the Vaital *deul* at Bhubanesvar.

To each of the four corners of the *jagamohana* is fixed a minor *rekha deul*, each rising to a height of about 22 feet and standing on a square of 9th feet side. Externally this *rekha deul* resembles a shrine but internally it conforms to the rectangular arrangement of the *jagamohana*. Thus actually it does not enshrine any deity. The same arrangement can also be found in the case of the Vaital *deul* at Bhubaneswar. The arrangement of four minor shrines in the corners of the *jagamohana* heralds a *pañchāyatana* type.

Each corner *rekha deul* of the *jagamohana* is short and in style resembles the Paraśurāmeśvara, the earliest of the temples at Bhubanesvar. It stands on a *tri-ratha* plan with a central vertical projection on each of its external faces. The projecting niches on the wall, however, foresee a *pañcha-ratha* type. The three mouldings of its base are continued from and resemble those of the *jagamohana*; thus the corner *rekha deuls* and *jagamohana* forming into an architectural whole (Pl.8). On the wall portion, projecting niches are carved like those on the wall of the *jagamohana*, but here the central one being bigger than the two side ones. The *baranda* moulding resembles the platforms of the *śikhara* above. The trunk of the tower consists of a series of platforms which, unlike those of the main tower, are closely set with little intervening space. The trunk is vertically divided into three *pagas*. The *kanika-paga* is horisontally divided into three *bhūmi-barandis*. Each *bhūmi-barandi* is crowned by fluted *bhūmi-āmlas* one on either side in the angles. Shallow vertical depressions one on either side go to demarcate the central *raha-paga*, which, however, is not well-pronounced. On the central *raha*, there is a well-projecting vertical band. The lower part of the central band is decorated,with a projecting *chaitya* pediment. The *bisama* does not have the projections of the truuk. The trunk like that of the main tower, is almost straight-sided upto the middle and then begins to curve inwards;

the curve, however, being slightly pronounced. The apex of the corner *rekha* consists of a *beki*, a heavy fluted *āmla-śila*, a *khapuri* and a *kalaśa*. The *āyudha*, however, is absent.

The *jagamohana* has two doorways, the entrance one on the east wall (Pl.9) and an additional one towards the western end on the south wall (Pl.10). In the architectural features and in the applied art of these doorways one can see the influence of the classical Gupta idiom as modified by the Chālukyan and Orissan styles. In the case of the doorway on the east (Pl.9), the expanded overdoor, the foliated vases forming the bases of the verticals of the doorjambs and the bases and capitals of the pilasters and the exuberent richness of the scroll-work pattern undoubtedly show the classical Gupta influence as modified by the Orissan style. The nymphs embracing or standing under the trees carved on the verticals of the outermost doorjamb remind us of *yakshiṇis* adorning the earlier Buddhist *toraṇas*. The tree nymyhs and the *mithuna* couples found on the same verticals are as elagantly and as romantically carved as the *ālasakanyas* and *mithunas* adorning the temples at Bhubanesvar. The foliate designs, the decorative motifs, the sculptured figures, and the *dvārapālas* show both Chālukyan and Orissan influences. A striking feature of the doorway, is the charming figure of *dvārapāla* who stands in the elegant pose with his left hand resting on a trident which springs out of the head of the personified *āyudhapurusha* standing to his left. Another significant feature is the representation of games like hunting and wrestling in friezes on the lintal and on the platforms of the tiered roof over the doorway. The roof over the doorway on the east consists of a two-tiered body topped by a wagon roof. The latter is surmounted by three fluted *āmalakas* each of which is topped by a *khapuri* and a *kalaśa*.

The doorway on the south wall of the *jagamohana* (Pl.10), like that on the east, is an expanded one and resembles the former in style but with slight differences with regard to scroll-work patterns, decorative motifs and other features. The roof of the doorway consists of a tiered body shaped like a *chaitya*-arch with *kīrtimukha* design projecting from it in front. The medallions in the decorative design contain cult images.

In addition to the two doorways, one on the east and the other on the south, three perforated windows can be found on the north wall of the *jagamohana* so as to admit light and air into the interior.

The interior of the *jagamohana*, like that of the Orissan temples, is severely plain. In the interior of the *jagamohana* there are two rows of four pillars each supporting the flat roof, and forming a nave in the centre and two aisles on the sides which remind us the interior arrangement of the Buddhist *Chaityas*. Except for the first two in front of the sanctum, the next six pillars, (in two rows each of three) stand on a low elevation which, thus, provides a *pradakshiṇapatha* round the *jagamohana*. Corresponding to the pillars, pilasters are found on the walls. The pillars resemble those found in the *jagamohana* of the Paraśurameśvara, being square monoliths with voluted bracket capitals but without and bases (Pl. 11).

The high *prakara* wall enclosing the rectangular courtyard is almost plain except for a horizontal moulding projecting from its centre. In each of the four corners of the enclosure wall stands a *rekha deul*, thus transforming the temple into a full-fledged *pañchāyatana* type. Each of the corner shrines rises to a height of about 30 feet from the ground and stands on a square of 12 feet side. These corner shrines resemble the corner *rekha deuls* of the *jagamohana*, except for slight differences, but being complete shrines they follow more closely the architectural style of the Paraśurāmeśvara at Bhubanesvar. Each of the four corner-shrines houses a polished *Mānusha linga* inside. To take the south-west corner shrine for example, its three base mouldings correspond to those of the early Orissan temples (Pl. 12). Its doorway is an expanded one and on its lintel are carved eight planets in a row. The niches on its wall portion more clearly indicate the heralding of a *pañcha-ratha* type. The *baranda* is clearly demarcated by leaving a wider intervening space between itself and the trunk above. The trunk is divided vertically into five *paḡas* with the projection of the central *raha* being more pronounced than the others. The trunk is horizontally divided into five *bhūmi-barandis* each of which is surmounted by fluted *bhūmi-āmlas* in the angles. The curvilinear effect of the tower is more pronounced here. In all these features, the corner-shrines of the enclosure will closely resemble the Paraśuramaśvara, thereby suggesting the early date. A striking feature of the corner shrine is that its *khapuri* at the top of the tower is a tiered one and each of its circular platforms is decorated with the same kind of projections found on the roof of the east gateway of the enclosure wall. In fact, the two *anuratha-pagas* of its trunk are also decorated with a vertical row of these projections.

Except on the east, on the other three sides minor shrines are built on the enclosure wall; one in the centre of each of its walls. Each of them is a *khakhara deul*, rectangular and *triratha* on plan, with plain wall surfaces and a tiered body above it. The roof consists of platforms which are grouped into a single *bhūmi-barandi* surmounted by fluted *bhūmi-āmlos* in the angles. A wide vertical band projects from the front face of the tiered body. The latter is topped by a wagon roof which is surmounted by three fluted *āmlas* with *khopuri* a and a *kalaśa* above each of them. At the top of the central band and in front of the wagon roof can be sedent lion seated on a pedestal. The *khakhara* shrine on the north wall has a porch with plain walls in front of it. The building style of these shrines indicates that the craftsmen of Mukhaliṅgaṁ were probably influenced by the shape of the Vaital *deul* at Bhubaneswar. In fact, there is another small shrine of this type situated just outside the village. And a few more small shrines of this type are found on the way from Mukhaliṅgaṁ to Viśākhapaṭṇam.

In addition to the above, there are four more minor shrines in the courtyard, one on the south and three on the north. These are small structures of the *piḍha deul* type housing a *linga* inside. Each of them stands on a square plan with its wall surfaces being plain and its roof consisting of two platforms, diminishing as they ascend and surmounted with a *beki* at the top which is crowned by a fluted

āmla, a *khapuri* and a *kalaśa*. Small shrine of this type can be seen in large numbers at Bhubanesvar and many belonging to the modern period can also be found along the route from Mukhaliṅgaṁ to Viśākhapaṭṇam.

The large number of minor and subsidiary shrines found in the enclosure around the main shrine in the centre remind us of the Buddhist practice of grouping votive *chaityas* around a large *stupa* in the centre. And there are good grounds to believe that before the advent of Śaivism, Buddhist influence was predominant in the Mukhaliṅgaṁ region.[1]

Bhīmeśvara Temple

The Bhīmeśvara temple is located at about two hundred yards to the south-east of the Madhukeśvara on the other side of the main road (Pl. 13). The temple, facing east, stands on a high terrace and rises to a height of about 51 feet from the ground. It consists of a square *deul* (21 feet side), a narrow *antarala* and a rectangular *jagamohana* measuring 43×33 feet (Pl.14). The temple is approached by a flight of steps. In front of the temple, two bulls, facing the entrance doorway of the temple, are found squatting side by side on a high platform (Pl.15). There is no enclosure wall.

The square *deul* (21 feet side) stands on a *triratha* plan with a wide vertieal band prajecting from each of its facades (Pl.16). The three base moulding resemble those of the Madhukeśvara (Pl 17). However, in addition to the *chaitya* arches, floral motifs, human and animal figures, the topmost moulding is decorated with a number of erotic couples, a feature not found in the Madhukeśvara temple. The wall portion of the *deul* has a wide central band projecting from it and unlike the Madhukeśvara a niche containing a divine image is found on each of its facades. The *baranda* moulding, which demarcates the trunk from the wall portion, is similar to the platforms of the tower above.

The tower of the Bhīmeśvara temple resembles that of the Madhukeśvara but with slight difference showing an advance upon the latter (Pl.18). The inward curve of the tower is more pronounced here. The trunk consists of a series of platforms with wide intervening spaces left in between. The tower goes up straight upto the middle and then curves inwards. The vertical band projects from the centre of each facade and its lower part is decorated with a *chaitya* arch. In the angles on the *bisama* are found four bulls squatting and facing different directions. The tower is surmounted by a *beki*, a heavy fluted *āmla*, a *khapuri* and a *kalaśa*. The *āyudha* above the *kalaśa* is, however, absent. The interior of the sanctum is severely plain and has polished *Manusha linga* on a pedestal in the centre. The roof above is built on corbel system and therefore is shallow without any ceiling.

1. The presence of Buddhist sculptures and of the unexcavated but partly uncovered, *stupa*-like structures at Mukhaliṅgaṁ and the prevalence of Buddhist culture in the Mukhaliṅgaṁ region in the early centuries of Christian era as proved by the Buddhist sites like Sālihuṇḍam point to this direction.

The upper and lower *pabhaga* mouldings of the *jagamohana* resemble those of the sanctum, but the middle one is fluted and its shape is much alike the *kumuda* moulding found in the Draviḍian temples (Pl.19). The plainness of the wall portion of the *jagamohana* is relieved by a wide middle projection and divided by pilasters, a feature which betrays influence from the South. Two windows in the form of grilles found on the north and south walls admit additional light into the interior. The *jagamohana*, like that of the Madhukeśvara, is flat-roofed, but there are no spouts to drain out the rain water as found in the latter. The *jagamohana* is entered through a doorway on the east. The doorway is unornamented and its lintel is now supported by a novel form of pillars, obviously a later addition. Each of the latter is formed by sandstone blocks, rectangular, square and round, placed one above the other and surmounted by a fluted *āmla* as capital and a flat abacus. Like that of the Madhukeśvara, the interior of the *jagamohana* is plain and has in the centre two rows of pillars, each of four, forming a central nave and two side aisles. The pillars resemble those in the *jagamohana* of the Madhukeśvara, but their bracket capitals are not voluted (Pl.20). As in the Madhukeśvara, except the first two in front of the *antarāla*, the next six pillars stand on a low elevation which thus provides a *pradakshiṇapatha* round the *jagamohana*. Corresponding to the pillars, pilasters are found on the walls. There is another doorway on the south towards the western end of the south wall. Unlike in the Madhukeśvara, a narrow *antarāla* here connects the *jagamohana* to the *garbhagṛiha* where-in is located a polished *Manusha linga* on a high pedestal, the principal object of worship.

Someśvara Temple

Rising to a height of about 46 feet from the slightly elevated ground and situated at the entrance of the village, the Someśvara temple at once attracts the eyes of the visitors and makes it clear to the schloars that the Mukhaliṅgaṁ group of temples from the southern most limit of the Orissan style of temple architecture (Pl.21).[1] By the time of building this temple, the craftsmen of Mukhaliṅgaṁ were probably convinced that the temple style of Orissan best suited their needs and therefore adopted the plan of a *rekha deul*. The temple is typically Orissan and stands on a high platform. It faces west and in front of it a bull, seated on a high pedestal and facing the doorway of the deul, can be found. The temple consists of only a *deul* and has no *jagamohana* (Pl.22). The Someśvara resembles an early type of *rekha deul* at Bhubanesvar, but the former, being built a few centuries later, has sculptural motifs drawn from the later Orissan temples.

1. In this respect, along with the Mukhaliṅgaṁ group of temples, should be included the two temples at Jayati and the Dibbeśvara temple at Sarapalli (Viśākhapaṭnam District) a fews miles to the south of Mukhaliṅgaṁ. They are also typical examples of Orissan *rekha deul* and in many respects they resemble the Someśvara temple at Mukhaliṅgaṁ. (For a general description of the Dibbeśvara temple see, M. Rama Rao, *The Temples of Kalinga*, pp. 45-49).

The square *deul* (18 feet side) stands on a *tri-ratha* plan with a wide vertical band projecting from the centre of each of its faces, but the side niches on the walls and the projections and recesses of the base, in addition to creating a light-and-shade effect, heralds the *pañcharatha* type (Pl 23). The base consists of four horizontal mouldings which closely resemble those found in the later Orissan temples and conform in shape and arrangement to the corner base moulding of the *deul* of the Mukteśvara temple at Bhubanesvar (Pl.24). The wall portion is punctuated by three niches containing cult images; the central niche being larger and the side ones being smaller. The side niches are canopied by miniature towers. The central niche has a overhanging eave at its top which is surmounted by a tiered miniature tower. The platforms of the roofs of the niches resemble those of the tower above. The wide moulding of the *baranda* also resembles the platforms of the tower.

The doorway of the *deul* on the east is of expanded variety like those found in the Madhukeśvara and even some of the floral motifs on it, the foliated vase capitals and bases of the pilasters and *manusha kautaki* motif on the outermost doorjamb are an imitation of those of the Madhukeśvara (Pl.25). But the applied art of the Someśvara is of a stylised character and far inferior to that of the Madhukeśvara and therefore much later in date. The *dvārapālas* are found at the bottom of the door posts but a novel feature is that they are carved in rectangular niches with their tops curved and pointed at the end. On the lintel are found, in addition to the Gajalakshmī motif, the figures of the nine planets in a long row. The addition of Ketu also enables us to assign a later date to this temple.

The tower of the *deul* consists of a series of thick-set platforms with a vertical band projecting from the centre of each of its faces. At the bottom of the central band, unlike those on the Madhukeśvara and Bhīmeśvara temples, a niche containing a cult image is found. Above the niche, the central band is decorated with a developed and novel form of *chaitya*-arch motif with clear-cut lacings which resembles the motif found on the Mukteśvara and later Orissan temples but with horse-riders and elephants flanking it at the top instead of the dwarfs. The trunk is horizontally divided into seven *buūmi-barandis*, each of which is crowned by a *bhūmi-āmla* moulding with fluted *āmlas* in the angles in the *kanika paga*. The trunk is vertically divided into five *pagas*, namely, a central *raha-paga*, two side *anuratha-pagas* and two outermost *kanika-pagas*. The *bisama* at the top of *gaṇḍi* does not partake the divisions of the latter. In the angles on the *bisama* are carved four bulls (one of which is now missing) squatting and facing different directions. The *beki* is surmounted by a heavy fluted *āmalaka*, a *khapuri* and a *kalaśa*. The *āyudha*, however, is absent.

The interior of the *deul* is severely plain like the other temples. There is a polished *manusha linga* supported on a pedestal of the usual type in the centre. The corbelled roof above is shallow without a ceiling. Above the lintel of the doorway on the inside is found a corbelled arch so arranged as to relieve the heavy load on the former.

Conclusion

Thus in conclusion, it may be said that though the temples of Mukhaliṅgaṁ are affiliated to the Orissan style and though some of the shrines including the Someśvara are the exact architectural replicas of those found at Bhubanesvar a unique experiment was made at Mukhaliṅgaṁ in the construction of the *śikharas* of the Madhukeśvsara and Bhīmeśvara temples. These towers were originally conceived and constructed by combining the features of the towers of both the *Rekha* and *Bhadra deul* types of Orissa. The tower at Mukhliṅgaṁ, like that of the Orissan *Badra deul* consists of a series of platforms diminishing in size as they ascend. And at the same time it has a curvilinear profile like that of the Orissan *Rekha deul*. Such a type of tower, which stands for the imagination, creative power and the thirst for experimentation on the part of the Mukhaliṅgaṁ craftsmen, is found nowhere in India except the one at Mahendragiri in the same district and probably belonging to the same period as the Mukhaliṅgaṁ example.

CHAPTER THREE

ART

The temples of Mukhaliṅgaṁ are datable to the medieval period. The sculptural art of these temples generally exhibits the features of what may be termed as the medieval art. A review of the characteristic features of medieval art of India as a whole serves as a background to appreciate and analyse the features of sculptural art of Mukhaliṅgaṁ temples.

Characteristic Features of the Medieval Sculpture

Medieval art was "the final and inevitable development out of the maturity of Gupta art".[1] The transition from the classical idiom to the medieval style of art was gradual, smooth and continuous. Neither there was an abrupt break nor a sudden change from the classical to the medieval style nor can we draw a clear-cut line demarcating the medieval from the classical at certain point or at certain time. The medieval art was really a product of the accentuation of some of the elements of the classical idiom, the fading away of the others and the emergence of a number of new and varying elements. However, the new elements, which had come to characterise the medieval art, represented the symptoms of decline and degeneration rather than an improvement upon the art of the previous phase. "The first victims of the 'new vogue' were classical peace and its utter simplicity".[2] The stream of creativity and originality which flowed so freely in the classical period had begun to freeze up from about 600 A.D. "The refined and restrained conventions of the Gupta period were replaced by colossal creation and cosmic conception".[3]

The iconographic norms, which appeared towards the end of the Gupta period and had been gradually evolved thereafter, were systematised into definite canons by

1. Benjmin Rowland, *The Art and Architecture of India*, p. 153.
2. Charles Fabri, *Discovering Indian Sculpture*, p. 49.
3. V.S. Agarwala, *Studies in Indian Art*, p. 257.

the beginning of the 9th century. The immediate and direct result of that codification was the loss of freedom to craftsman which was so essential and valuable for the production of creative and original masterpieces in sculptural art.[1] The craftsmen was thus forced to conform to specific iconographic standards and prescriptions which in turn resulted in the production of stereotyped and schematic images. In essence, art had now become stylised, hieratic and mechanical, particularly with reference to the cult images. The creativity and originality of the Gupta craftsmen were replaced in the medieval period by an emphasis on mechanical skill and high technical accomplishment, and this resulted in a gradual decline in the quality of the artistic creations. "Suppression of creative movement resulted in an orgy of bombastic ornamentation and hysterical tendency towards flatulent magnificence so vivid in the temples of Mount Abu, Belur, Halebid, or in the gopuras of South India".[2] The art instead of generating delight, appreciation and admiration, now resulted in monotony, dryness and desiccation. The art, full of life during the classical period, had now become lifeless particularly because each design was repeated time and again without altering its essential nature. Though the individual artist was drowned in the sea of iconographic canons, still he also craved for freedom and individuality and whatever freedom he was allowed he showed it in the representation of human and animal figures and decorative designs and it was essentially in this part of the sculptural art that the classical flavour continued to be seen from the 7th century onwards, especially in Orissa and in the South.

Nor the humanism of the Gupta period was successful in continuing its existence after the systematisation of the iconographic standards. Hundreds and thousands of images of different divine beings in various poses and postures were produced year after year all over India from the 9th century onwards, and consequently even an expert, let alone a layman, found it difficult to identify them correctly. Hence in addition to the craftsmen, the commoners were also required to have good knowledge of the iconographic norms on the one hand and the theological and mythological background on the other for the purpose of correctly identifying the large number of cult images individually.

Though lacking in originality, the medieval craftsmen were not wanting in imagination. They introduced a large number of novel features in the case of both the cult images and other figure sculptures and decorative designs. Particularly the medieval craftsmen showed keen interest in incorporating fresh decorative elements in their works. As for example, the halo of the Buddha, which was plain during the Gupta period, was now endowed with lavish ornamentation. It had now become oval instead of being circular which was the previous case. In addition to these new features, two flying *vidyadharas* were represented on it. Thus the halo was completely transformed into an ornate throne with a dramatic effect.

1. N.V. Mallaya, however says, "The rules of Śilpaśāstras are the rails of freedom on which Art travels to its destination of Truth and Beauty" (*Studies in Sanskrit Texts on Temple Architecture*, p. 3).
2. Ajit Mookerjee, *The Arts of India*, p. 28.

The simplicity and restraint of the clasaical art no longer satisfied the medieval craftsmen because of the latter' s thirst for elaboration, ornamentation and grandeur. "The lavish use of decorative detail, going hand in hand with an attenuation of the actual elements of design and of the figure, take the place of the essential riches of the Gupta period."[1] This tendency resulted in a gradual increase of the ornamentation of the images so much so that the devotee was forced to admire the skill of the craftsmen in draping the image with ornamentation rather than seeing and feeling the spiritual illumination of his divine personage. This naturally resulted in the craftsmen showing greater and unneccessary anxiety and attention for the perfection even of the minutest details of the images. "We see an increasing complication, hightened emphasis, and a superb technical accomplishment and patience that are apt to over-reach their end."[2] The sculptor, in his effort to exhibit his skill, subordinated his religious zeal and suppressed his creative talent for the sake of technical perfection. Thus, in effect, he was serving neither god and nor man but was only trying to satisfy his own hunger for grandeur. The tendency towards elaboration also resulted in the multiplication of the number of hands of the cult images and the addition of a number of unneccessary figures in sculptured reliefs. While the former resulted in confusion, the latter in over-crowding.

In the realm of image-making an important change took place in the medieval period, both in the conception as well as in the technique of representation. The sublime and serene images of the classical period exhibiting spiritual illumination and human spirit gradually gave place in the medieval period to those showing violent emotion and supernatural passion. The bronze Śiva Naṭarāja of the Choḷa period, in which Śiva was represented in the flawless and impressive *Tāṇḍava* pose with many hands, is the perfect representation of the medieval cult image showing restless emotion, superhuman energy, dynamic movement and demonaic passion, all rolled into one.

The human figure, as in the previous phase, formed the centre of medieval sculpture. The body now became more slender with a narrow waist. The eyes became more and more elongated as time went on. The limbs were also elongated and supple but the latter quality was exaggerated. The female form was modelled with an eye on sensuousness and ravishing beauty. The *apsaras* of Khajuraho and the *ālasakanyas* of Bhubanesvar and Konarak, depicted in various elegant and graceful poses, sometimes dancing, are the true works representing the ideal of romantic beauty as conceived during the medieval period. The *surasundaris* of Khajuraho are characterised by "long-stemmed, globular, and serpentine shapes"[3] and "the roundness and softness of the breasts and belly are emphasized by the contrasting exaggerated straightness of the arms and limbs."[4] The *ālasakanyas* adorning the

1. A.K. Coomaraswamy, *Introduction to Indian Art*, p. 47.
2 *Ibid.*, pp. 46-47.
3. Stella Kramrisch, *The Art of India*, p. 44.
4. Benjamin Rowland, *The Art and Architecture of India*, p. 165.

temples of Bhubanesvar are "full of life, alluringly modelled and languorously posed".[1] The impressive head-dresses, the attractive and skilfully-wrought ornamentation, the innocent-looking but beautiful and inviting eyes, the full, heavy, round and pulsating breasts, the narrow waist, the hips swelling like river banks, the elongated and supple limbs and the soft flesh enclosed in the smooth and sensuous body modelled in harmony and rhythmical symmetry, would not miss to arouse even in a lay observer delight and happiness when looking at them and make him feel to be in a dreamy world of fantasy.

Still another feature of the medieval period lies in its erotic suggestion. Though female figures breathing sensuous energy and *mithuna* couples in poses suggestive of erotic nature are found at Bhubanesvar and Khajuraho, it is only in the late medieval period at places like Konarak, that the erotic character of the sculpture becomes a dominant theme and exhibits sultry sexiness and unnatural perversion. The influences of the Tāntric philosophy of the Śaiva and Śakti cults developed during the medieval period was an important contributing factor in this direction. Various suggestions have been offered by scholars for the presence of erotic sculptures on the walls of the sacred structures, but it seems to be reasonable to believe that the medieval society, or more probably the ruling classes, attached great importance to sex and sensuality, and the treatises on the subject like the "*Kāmasūtra*" of Vātsyāyana were read with great interest by the people during that period. No doubt they are sensuous erotic representations but at the same time they are also humanistic and realistic and depict the moments of heavenly bliss on a earth. They symbolise the vitality of biological existence. The union of *lingam* and *yoni* "gives a direct representation of the creation of the world. Uncompromising in their grandeur, they symbolise Genesis itself".[2] What is more important about them is that they represent the morality of the medieval society. The medieval people regarded sex, without which the human race could not procreate itself, as important as god and therefore the former was assigned a devine role. No man or woman can restrain oneself from seeing and enjoying the *mithuna* couples which remind them of their happy youthful days. With regard to the erotic sculptures depicting the unnatural sexual acts, as for example between human beings and animals as found at Konarak, it can be said that they represent the crude imagination of the craftmen on the one hand and the influence of the Tāntric philosophy, which laid emphasis on self-control, on the other, and these sculptures were probably intended to be a warning to those medieval people who indulged too much in sex and regarded it as the sole object in life.

As the medieval period ushered in the tendency towards flatness and linear effect gained upper hand and ultimately replaccd the marvelous plasticity of the rounded and moulded form of the Gupta times. Contours became more and more

1. Santi Swarup, *5000 Years of Arts and Crafts in India and Pakistan*, p. 59.
2. Max-Pol Fouchet, *The Erotic Sculpture of India*, p. 9.

facile and the angular effects, resulting from the vertical and horizontal strokes, became dominant. This tendency naturally resulted in the dryness of line and the linear rhythms turned "plastic form to feverish mannerism and delicate or bleak rigour."[1]

From the 7th century onwards greater emphasis was laid on the architectonic character of the sculpture. "In fact, in the medieval conception architecture is but sculpture on a colossal scale and the whole temple begins to look like a giant carving with its surface covered and differentiated by ornamentation."[2] Sculpture had now become a part of the architectural design. For Sculpture two more functions were given. On the one hand, it was so planned and arranged as to heighten the vertical or horizontal effect of a structure. On the other, sculpture was also employed as a decorative ornamentation to the structural body. Sculpture and architecture were regarded by the craftsmen of the times as the two indivisible parts of a whole and necessary and complementary to each other. Sculpture isolated from architecture, they thought, was like the god without a shelter or a fish out of water. So, the craftsmen forced sculpture to serve the interests of architecture. But in the end when the structure was overlaid with sculpture, it ultimately resulted in the triumph of sculpture over architecture rather then being the reverse.

The medieval period witnessed a tremendous temple-building and sculpture-producing activity both in the north and south of India. Side by side with degenerate productions, works of charm and grace were also produced. In addition to the sensuous and erotic *mithuna* couples, images of the divine beings, which still retained the sublimity and dignity of the classical images to a certain extent, were also produced in large numbers as a result of the *Bhakti* movement. The medieval human figures, especially the females, exhibited the classical flavour in their handsome and youthful physical beauty and in their graceful and elegant poses as, for example, seen in the *surasundaris* and *ālasakanyas* of Khajuraho and Bhubanesvar respectively. The female musicians of Konarak revel in beauty and are "distinguished by a rare luxuriousness of mood and appearance, their massive rounded beauty, presented in movements designed to capture their all-sided charms, has been carved with 'relish and inspiration'. Each one is an enchantress, exquisitely graceful, tender and serene".[3] Even in the medieval period the Indian artist was swayed by his love towards nature. The men and women who appear on the temple walls represent his aesthetic realisation by converting the human forms into an object of beauty. The animals were lively and realistically represented. The door-jambs and the exterior wall portions are frequently filled with beautiful floral designs and intricate geometrical patterns.

1. Stella Kramrisch, *The Art of India*, p. 45.
2. Santi Swarup, *5000 Years of Arts and Crafts in India and Pakistan*, p. 51.
3. *Ibid.*, p. 60.

Art of the Mukhaliṅgaṁ Temples

The sculptural art of the Mukhaliṅgaṁ temples is influenced by the traditions coming from different directions. It exhibits influences of the art traditions of Central India, the Deccan, Tamil Nadu, Coastal Andhra and Orissa. It is natural so because "at the beginning of its course any movement is the ready recipient of such forms as are conveyed to it from all sources to become incorporated in its productions".[1]

The classical Gupta influence can be noticed in the expanded doorway, the overhanging lintel, the "vase and foliage" order of the pilasters, the presence of the figures of Gaṅgā and Yamunā and the exuberant freshness and the resemblance of certain foliage patterns. The plastic quality of the sculptured figures and the decorative motifs like the peacock carved with a stylised tail betray Chālukyan influence.

The cultural contacts with Tamil Nadu were the result of frequent invasions of Coastal Andhra and Kaliṅga by the Tamil kings particularly by the Choḷas. The Tamilian influence can be noticed in the forms of the tridents, in the presence of images like Dakshiṇāmūrti, and in the particular poses of holding objects like *kartarimukha.*

From the time of the founding of the Eastern Chālukyan Kingdom in Andhra in early 7th century with its capital at Vengi, there were frequent conflicts between the Eastern Chālukyas and the Eastern Gangas for the control of the fertile Godavari region. Consequently, cultural traditions travelled to and fro in spite of the continuous political warfare. The Eastern Chālukyan influence on the art of Mukhaliṅgaṁ can be noticed in the crude workmanship and primitive modelling of some figures, the strings of bells used as ornaments for human and Nandi figures, and the resemblance of the Nandi figures at Mukhaliṅgaṁ with those of the Eastern Chālukyan examples at Biccavolu and other places. The influence of the art tradition of Mukhaliṅgaṁ in turn can be noticed in the Eastern Chālukyan figures like Lakulīśa and Gaṇeśa at Biccavolu.

In architecture, as pointed out earlier, the Mukhaliṅgaṁ temples are affiliated to the Orissan style. In art also most of the decorative motifs and scroll-work patterns, particularly those found on the doorways of the Madhukeśvara temple, are drawn from Orissa. The females and amorous couples adorning the temples at Mukhaliṅgaṁ remind us of the *ālasakanyas* and the *mithuna* couples on the temples at Bhubanesvar. Images like Ekapādamūrti form of Śiva and Lakulīśa which are popular in Orissa are also found at Mukhaliṅgaṁ. In fact most of the Śaiva iconography of the Mukhaliṅgaṁ temples is drawn from Orissa. To take one example, the *jaṭāmukuṭa* of Gaṇeśa and the curve of his probiscus undoubtedly betray Orissan tradition.

1. Percy Brown, *Indian Architecture* (Buddhist and Hindu Period), p. 102.

In the case of the Mukhaliṅgaṁ temples, it is the cult images that generally partake the medieval tendencies. Even here the medieval character of art has not wholly affected the sculptural art of Mukhaliṅgaṁ. For example, the comely-shaped figure of Gangā in the Madhukeśvara temple, depicted in a gracaful pose, is full of life and vigour. The flowing outlines of the body and the rounded plasticity of the modelling still exhibit classical flavour. The charming figure of Naṭaraja in the same temple is a masterpiece of exceptionally fine quality. It is remarkable not only for its dynamic vitality but also for its living character and the refreshing expression on its face. Even the animal figures are delicately carved and realistically represented.

Just as in the case of the Orissan temples, the sculptor of Mukhaliṅgaṁ also excels in carving human figures and geometrical and floral patterns. Whatever freedom the sculptor enjoyed, he showed it with his creative capabilities, his imaginative power and his technical skill in these spheres. The foliage designs and the scroll work patterns are of exceptionally high quality and "amazing complexity".[1] A significant motif found on the doorway is the *Mānusha Kautaki* motif or what is called "peopled scrolls" in the European Art. Another remarkable motif is the Nāga gargoyle (spout) frequently come across in the Madhukeśvara temple but uncommon elsewhere. This motif found all its way to the far off islands of Jāva and Bāli where it appeared in 10th century A.D.[2]

As elsewhere in India, the sculptures of Mnkhaliṅgaṁ are' carved mostly in relief. The figures are deeply cut and those in the three central niches in the walls of the sanctum of the Someśvara temple are carved mostly in round. The tools of the Mukhaliṅgaṁ sculptor consisted mainly of points and chisels and the figure are carved by a method known as strip-cutting. The cult images are depicted conventionally but a tendency can be noticed on the part of the sculptor to shift to representational character in the carving of the secular human figures. Some of the sculptures, especially on the doorways of the Madhukeśvara, are finished off with a finely modelled layer of lime plaster. In the carving and modelling of the figures the sculptor mainly concerned himself with the convexly curved surface treatment of the forms. The concavities are conspicuous by their absence except in the case of the figures of emaciated goddesses like Chāmuṇḍā and Yogeśvarī. In the case of the Madhukeśvara temple, parts of the figures are carved on different slabs and then arranged in courses to from a whole, the same technique adopted in the case of the Vaital-Śiśireśvara group of temples at Bhubanesvar. This method was followed so as to save them from being removed and taken away by the art-collectors. However, in the case of the other two temples, the figures are carved on loose slabs and then fitted in the shallow niches in the walls.

1. Cult Images

The figures in the Bhikshāṭanamūrti and Naṭarāja panels on the medallions of

1. Douglas Barret, *Mukhalingam Temples*, p. 9.
2. C. Sivaramamurti, *Royal Conquests and cultural Migrations in South India and the Deccan*, pp. 41-42.

the *chaitya* arch on the east face of the *śikhara* of the Madhukeśvara entirely differ from others in the same temple in their plasticity and technique of carving. They show the primitive technique of the unskilled craftsmen. They look archaic with disproportionate bodies, a result of imperfect conception and crude workmanship. They have either extremely elongated and slender bodies or short, somewhat stunted and stocky bodies. The craftsmen, lacking in knowledge and expertise, did not even plan beforehand to distribute the space according to the need. The *chaitya* arch is crowded with so many figures, unnecessary and unrelated to the context, that would force us to surmise that the craftsmen saw beauty in filling the space with as many figures as possible. A comparison of the figures of Bhikshāṭanamūrti and Naṭarāja with the sculptures of the Eastern Chālukyan temples at Biccavolu, and those hailing from Māḍugula near Guntur, whose tradition itself was derived from the Early Chālukyan art, would go to show from where the Mukhaliṅgaṁ craftsmen had their source of inspiration.[1] That the source of inspiration for the Mukhaliṅgaṁ sculptor was the Chālukyan tradition can also be known when we turn our attention to the figure of Gaṇeśa found in the lower medallion of the *chaitya* arch on the south face of the same *śikhara*. Here, Gaṇeśa wears a string of bells as necklace and this type of ornamentation is usually associated with Chālukyan art. That there was cultural intercourse between the Eastern Ganga and Eastern Chālukyan dominions and that the impressions were carried both ways can also be known from a comparison of the two images of Gaṇeśa, one in a niche on the north wall of the Someśevara at Mukhaliṅgaṁ and the other hailing from Biccavolu. The string of bells forming a necklace of the image in the Someśvara is definitely derived from the Chālukyan tradition. The *jaṭamukuṭa* of the Biccavolu image[2] shows the Orissan tradition as it travelled via Mukhaliṅgaṁ. Except for the difference in the representation of the probiscus, the Mukhaliṅgaṁ image showing the Orissan form and the Biccavolu image having the Tamilian form, in other respects the two images resemble so much that they may be taken as the creations of a single craftsman.

As the Pāśupata Śaiva cult travelled to the Mukhaliṅgaṁ region via Orissa, in the representation of Lakulīśa, the systematiser of the cult, the craftsmen of Mukhaliṅgaṁ were inspired by the former's images adorning the early temples at Bhubanesvar. Lakulīśa is depicted as being seated in *padmāsana* on a double-petalled lotus with his hands showing *dharma-chakra-pravartana mudra* and the club resting on his left shoulder encircled by one of his hands and being accompanied by his four disciples. That the model adopted was from Orissa can also be known from the presence of a four-handed variety of Lakulīśa image in a niche on the south wall of the Someśvara temple (Pl.40). Two other known examples of that type are the one recovered from the ruins of the Bhairava temple near Bhubanesvar[3] and the other

1. C. Sivaramamurti, *Early Eastern Chālukya Sculpture*, (Bulletin of Madras Govt. Museum, New Series—General Section, Vol. VII, No. 2). Plates I (Fig. b) and II (Fig. c).
2. *Ibid.*, Plate.
3. K.C. Panigrahi, *Archaeological Remains at Bhubaneswar*, p. 135.

found on the south wall of the *jagamohana* of the Śiśireśvara.[1] The Mukhaliṅgaṁ images of Lakulīśa, were in turn a source for the Eastern Chālukyan artist whose adaptation is found on a temple near Biccavolu datable to 9th century A.D.[2]

The Naṭāraja figures at Mukhaliṅgaṁ are mostly found in the Madhukeśvara. The *chatura* pose of thc dance and the multi-armed character of the image show the northern tradition. The feature of the topmost two hands holding a snake horizontally over the god's head is mainly found in the Naṭarāja figures in the Paraśurāmeśvara and another image in a miniature temple in the Mukteśvara compound, all at Bhubaneswar. The latter itself betrays Chālukyan influence as it resembles the one found in cave No.1 at Bādāmi.[3] Some features, like two of the hands raised with fingers pointing towards the *jaṭa*, two more hands held in front in *kaṭaka* pose and one of the hands of Naṭarāja touching the chin of a female to his left are especially found in the case of figures adorning the Vaital-Śiśireśvara group of temples at Bhubanesvar.[4] The most impressive of the Naṭarāja figures is found in a niche on the south wall of the *jagamohana* of the Madhukeśvara temple (Pl.34). Its flat face resembles that one in the Mukteśvara compound. Where it excels the Orissan examples is in its lively character. The subtle body dancing vigorously to the rhythm with its numerous hands thrown in space is represented with full of animation and movement. The slender figure, the elongated face and the slightly serpentine shape of the limbs, however, exhibit medieval tendencies.

The Dakshiṇāmūrti form of Śiva, which is popular in the Tamil region, is found in the Bhīmeśvara and therefore suggests influence from that direction. The Ekapādamūrti form of Śiva is particularly popular in Orissa and the same tradition was adopted by the Mukhuliṅgaṁ craftsmen as exemplified by a few images of that god in the temples there. Ardhanārīśvara figures depicted with *ūrdhvalinga* found in the Mukhaliṅgaṁ temples are peculiar to Bengal and Orissa while they are conspicuous by absence in south India.

The tridents of the north Indian and Chālukyan types differ from those of the South. The outer prongs of the former have a double curve and are more open. On the other hand, the tridents of the South have their outer prongs curved in a semi-circular fashion and closely set at the top. Whereas the Pallava tridents have a protruding middle prong and a long handle, in the Choḷa tridents the central prong is short and the *piṭha* negligible. At Mukhaliṅgaṁ, we find both the Orissan and southern types of tridents. The Durgā image in the *khakhara* shrine on the north enclosure wall of the Madhukeśvara show a trident of the Pallava form whereas most of the tridents found on the Someśvara have a combination of Pallava and Choḷa

1. *Ibid.*, Fig. 20.
2. C. Sivaramamurti, *Early Eastern Chālukya Sculpture*, pp.49-50; Plate XIX (C).
3. K.C. Panigrahi, *Archaeological Remains at Bhubaneswar*, Figs. 114 & 115.
4. *Ibid.*, Figs. 116 to 118.

features. The Śiva and Ekapādamūrti images on the south and north walls respectively of the *jagamohana* of the Madhukeśvara show Orissan form of tridents.

In most of the cases, the weapons are carried in a natural fashion. But, in a niche on the west wall of the sanctum of rhe Bhīmeśvara temple representing Narāsiṁha, the upper hands of the god carry weapons in a pose known as *kartarimukha* which is particularly popular in Tamilnadu from the Choḷa times and evidently show the influence of the tradition from the South. Some of the cult images in the Someśvara hold weapons in a modified form of *tripathaku* pose popular in the Chālukyan region, Orissa and the North, and, therefore, suggesting that the tradition might have come from Orissa.

2. Semi-Devine Figures

(a) *Figures of Nāgarāja*

The Nāgarāja figures are confined to the Madhukeśvara. There are nine busts of Nāgarāja, canopied under multihooded snakes, carved on loose slabs and arranged to act as spouts. Each of the princely figures carries a vase in his hands placed against his chest. Eight of them are found at the top of the walls of the *jagamohana* intended to drain out the rain water from over its flat roof. But most impressive of them all is the charming figure found at the bottom of the north wall of the *deul* to drain out the water from inside the cella (Pl.6). Its coiffure of coiled locks resembles that of the Nāgarāja figure hailing from Khiching.[2] It differs from the others in the absence of pot-belly. The artistic and functional arrangement of the figures is a novel feature not found elsewhere in India. Though Nāgarāja figures are found in Orissa, such a motif is not seen there. But the same motif travelled to South-East Asia and can be found in East Jāva and Bāli.[2]

3. Doorways

The doorways of the Mukhaliṅgaṁ temples, particularly those of the *jagamohana* of the Madhukeśvara, exhibit a combination of influences from other styles. The Gupta tradition can be seen in the vase and foliage order of the pilasters, the expanded overdoor, and some scroll-work patterns. The *mānusha-kautaki* motif, the foliate designs, some of the scroll-work patterns, the *dvārapālas* and *dvārapālinis* are influenced by the Orissan tradition.

The pilasters of the south doorway of the *jagamohana* of the Madhukeśvara show the following motifs (Pl.10):

(a) Foliated vases as bases and capitals,
(b) Basket shape below the vase capital,

1. J.N. Banerjea, *Development of Hindu Iconography*, PL. XIV, Fig. 3.
2. C. Sivaramamurti, *Royal Conquests and Cultural Migrations in South India and the Deccan*, pp. 41-42.

(c) Half lotus medallion,

(d) Two horned lions facing opposite directions with riders on them,

(e) *Kīrttimukha* in the middle with horned lions facing opposite directions on either side with strings of pearls falling from the mouths of all the three, and

(f) Two concave jewelled bands touching in the centre with the spaces at the top and bottom filled with foliage and the sides with lotuses.

All the above motifs and the foliate designs are the exact replicas of those found in the Vaital-Śiśireśvara group of temples at Bhubaneswar.[1]

4. Erotic Figures

The Tāntric cults of Orissa found their way into the Mukhaliṅgaṁ region also. The practices of these cults included animal and human sacrifices[2] on the one hand and unrestrained gratification through sexual acts on the other.

In the Madhukeśvara, there are about half a dozen figures of erotic couples depicted as indulging in sexual acts. Two of them, small and insignificant in nature are found on the topmost moulding of the *pabhaga* of the north wall of the *jagamohana*. Another erotic couple can be noticed right on the *śikhara* in the *chaitya* arch on its south face. Three more panels each depicting a man and a woman in erotic postures and prominently carved can be found on the outside and inside of the east doorway of the enclosure wall of the temple proper. A number of small figures of erotic couples, though not prominent in size or position, are also found on the topmost moulding of the *pabhaga* of the Bhīmeśvara temple. A few panels representing male and female figures indulging in sexual acts of perverted nature are also found on the walls of the Someśvara temple.

At Bhubanesvar, the figures of erotic nature make their appearance for the first time on the Vaital and Śiśireśvara group of temples.[3] As the style of art and architecture of the Mukhalingaṁ temples is mainly influenced by the Orissan tradition, this part of sculptural art had also its source in the same tradition. Tāntric cults and erotic figures, accompanying each other, reached the Mukhaliṅgaṁ region from Orissa. This would also help us to assign the Madhukeśvara, the earliest of the temples at Mukhaliṅgaṁ, a date later than 8th century A.D. which being the date of Vaital and Śiśireśvara temples. The perverted nature of the erotic scenes depicted on the walls of the Someśvara helps us to assign it to a date not earlier than 11th century A.D.

1. K. C. Panigrahi, *Archaeological Remains at Bhubaneswar*, Figs. 49 to 53.
2. At Mukhaliṅgaṁ a number of loose sculptures depicting animal and human sacrifices can be found.
3. K.C. Panigrahi, *op. cit.*, p. 104.

5. Chaitya Arches

The temples at Mukhaliṅgaṁ are decorated all over with *chaitya* arches and pediments or ornate development of the *chaitya* arches. The *chaitya* arches vary in size, the smallest being those adorning the topmost moulding of the *pabhaga* and the roofs of the niches on the walls and the largest being those on the middle vertical bands of the *śikhara*. The medallions of the former contain mostly lotuses and heads of the lions while those of the latter contain cult images. Both these features are found in the case of the Orissan temples. The medallions are of two types; (1) circular and (2) round but with rectangular projection at the top. The *chaitya* arches on the *śikhara* contain the medallions of both the types, the upper being circular and the lower with the rectangular projection at its top and these are artistically carved to display cult images impressively.

The form of *chaitya* arches varies from time to time. The *chaitya* of the Paraśurāmeśvara and the Vaital groups of temples are natural in form and resemble those of the Gupta style. But, from the time of Mukteśvara they become stylised and a new motif known as the *bho* motif comes into being. At Mukhaliṅgaṁ, the *chaitya* arches of the Madhukeśvara are quite natural in form and resemble those of the early temples at Bhubanesvar. The *chaitya* arches of the Someśvara resemble the stylised form of these of the Mukteśvara and later temples at Bhubanesvar. The *chaitya* arches on the central vertical bands of the *śikhara* of the Someśvara have perfectly circular medallions with clear-cut lacings. But instead of the *bho* motif of the Mukteșvara type, these have elephants and pouncing lions with riders on them flanking it, a continuation of the Vaital tradition. Instead of the lower medallion, as in the case of the earlier temples, the *chaitya* arch in the *śikhara* of the Someśvara forms the roof of a separate niche carved below.

The large number of *chaitya* arches decorating the Madhukeśvara temple and their natural form go to show that in date it is earlier than Mukteśvara which was built in the second half of the 10th century A.D.

6. Lotus Medallion

A large number of lotus medallions are found in the Madhukeśvara temple but they are conspicuous by their absence in the Bhīmeśvara and Someśvara temples. The lotus medallions of the Madhukeśvara are of two types; (1) showing petals and (2) depicting both petals and the seed container in the middle. However, the lotus medallions of the Madhukeśvara are mostly of the latter type. At Bhubanesvar, the lotus medallions occur only in earlier temples and absent in temples later than Vaital and Śiśireśvara group. The lotus medallions of the Paraśurāmeśvara contain only petals whereas those of Vaital-Śiśireśvara group show both the petals and the seed containers. Therefore, on this basis, the Madhukeśvara temple should be assigned a date contemporary to or later than the Vaital.

7. Foliated Vases

The foliated vase forming the bases and capitals of pilasters found in the Mukhaliṅgaṁ temples are stylised. The vases are decorated with lotus petals and jewelled bands. There is a lotus carved in half in the centre at the top. The foliage, stylistically represented, fall to the sides. At Bhubanesvar, the foliated vases of the Paraśurāmeśvara are realistic, but those of the Vaital-Śiśireśvara group are stylised.[1] The foliated vases of Mukhaliṅaṁ temples closely follow the style of those of the Vaital-Śiśireśvara.[2] Hence, the temples of Mukhaliṅgaṁ have to be placed later than the Vaital-Śiśireśvara group in date.

8. Secular Human Figures

(a) *Female figures*

In addition to the tree nymphs on the doorways of the Madhukeśvara, on the pilasters flanking those doorways are carved secular female figures standing in graceful poses which remined the *ālasakanyas* adorning the Bhubanesvar temples. A niche on the east wall of the north-east *rekha* of the *jagamohana* in the Madhukeśvara temple, contains a graceful figure of a female standing cross-legged. She is seen admiring the natural beauty of a lotus held in her right hand while the left is placed elegantly on her thigh. The coiffure is arranged with a heavy knot at the back and a fillet holds the hair tightly above her forehead. The upper part of her body is left bare but the lower part is covered with a garment decorated with lotuses. She wears the usual simple ornaments like a beaded necklace, jewelled wristlets, armlets and anklets and a pearl-stringed *kaṭisūtra*. Though the figure is partly damaged, the smile lurking on her face adds a refreshing look to the figure. The smooth flowing outlines of her facial contours still betray classical influence. But the slim figure, and the elongated limbs show medieval tendencies. The unimpressive hips and the semi-circular shape of the left hand show the unskilled nature of the craftsmanship.

(b) *Amorous couples*

A number of figures of amorous couples are found in the niches on the walls of the corner *rekha deuls* of the *jagamohana* and in panels on the east doorways of the *jagamohana* and of the enclosure wall in the Madhukeśvara temple. They remind us of the *mithuna* couples of the Bhubanesvar temples but they do not attain the mature style of the latter. A niche on the wall of the south-east corner *rekha* of the *jagamohana* contain the figures of an amorous couple. The man on the left is standing cross-legged. He is seen gently holding the left hand of his sweetheart in his left hand and with his right hand thrown round the back of her waist, he is drawing her close to him. A panel on the east doorway of the *jagamohana* depicts

1. *Ibid.*, p. 115.
2. *Ibid.*, Figures 49 and 53.

an amorous couple. The male appears to be a royal personage with a moustache and a beard and is seen pulling a female to his side with his right hand thrown round her back and the left holding one of her hands. She seems to be feeling shy as a result of the loving act of the male. The romantic nature of the panel is heightened by depicting the garment of the female as slipping down.

(c) *Wrestlers and Hunters*

On the lintel of the east doorway of the *jagamohana* of the Madhukeśvara, is carved a long panel depicting wrestling games conducted in the court. In the centre of the panel is found two males engaged in a wrestling bout. To their left is seen the defeated praying for the mercy of the king from the attacks of the winner. The king is seen to their left seated on a stool and enjoying the same. The audience comprises a large number of people seated in rows. A person, probably a female, is observing the game with great interest from the second storey of a building. Towards the left end of the panel, the king is seen seated on his throne and bestowing his grace on a person.

On the platforms of the roof of the same doorway are carved hunting scenes. The king riding an elephant and his soldiers horses are seen hunting lions and stags. Some of the hunters are seen carrying the dead animals.

(d) *Dancers and musicians*

A few panels around the niches on the walls of the Someśvara temple depict figures of dancers and musicians. A panel on the north wall represents a female dancing in a captivating pose with two males, a princely figure on the right and a bearded ascetic on the left, admiring and appreciating her stance. Another panel below the central niche on the east wall depicts musicians playing on drums and cymbals on the right and a female dancing on the left. Another male is also seen dancing. A male figure, with *yogapaṭṭa* tied around his knees, appears to be over-joyed by their dancing. A few admirers can also be seen. The whole scene appears to depict a Tāntric festival.

(e) *Ascetics*

The panels around the niches on the walls of the Someśvara contain a large number of figures of ascetics. Many of them are represented with *yogapaṭṭas* tied around their knees. Some of them are seen engaged in discussions. A panel on the east wall depicts an ascetic teacher preaching to the people around him. A number of figures of ascetics are found in panels on the east gateway of the *prakara* wall of the Madhukeśvara temple. Most of them are depicted with beards and emaciated bodies.

9. Animal Figures

The topmost moulding of the *pabhaga* and the tiered roofs of the niches in the Madhukeśvara are decorated with a large number of figures of animals and birds. Figures of peacocks, elephants, lions, stags, horses and bears can be found on the topmost moulding of the *pabhaga*. The peacocks are usually seen flanking the arches on the roofs of the niches. All of them are realistically represented except for the peacock which is depicted with a stylised tail and this motif is found not only at Bhubanesvar but also on the early Chālukyan temples at Paṭṭaḍakal.[1] The most natural representation of the animal figures can be found on the platforms of the roof of the east doorway of the *jagamohana* depicting hunting scenes. A few animal and bird figures are also found on the topmost moulding of the *pabhaga* of the Bhīmeśvara temple but they are conspicuous by their absence in the Someśvara.

The Nandis or bulls, which are of semi-divine character, are usually found in front of the temples dedicated to Śiva. Accordingly, a number of bulls are seen squatting on pedestals in front of the shrines at Mukhaliṅgaṁ. The ornamentation of the bulls with strings of bells undoubtedly betrays Chālukyan tradition. In addition, in the plasticity of their forms they resemble closely those hailing from Bhīmeśvaram (near Samalkot) and Vijayawada belonging to the time of the Eastern Chālukyas.[2]

10. Kirttimukhas

The *kīrttimukha* shows a grotesque head of a lion from whose mouth strings of pearls fall down. Sometimes the pearls fall into the mouths of crocodiles represented one on either side at the bottom. A later motif shows the *kīrttimukha* flanked by pouncing lions.

In the Madhukeśvara, a large number of *chaitya* arches enclosing *kīrttimukhas* in their medallions are found, the tradition being derived from the Paraśurāmeśvara group of temples at Bhubanesvar. However, on the same temple, *kīrttimukha* is also seen being flanked by lion riders. The most impressive of this motif are found on the pilasters of the south doorway of the *jagamohana* and on its roof above and this tradition came from the Vaital group of temples at Bhubanesvar where it appears for the first time.[3] This would also help us in fixing the date of the Madhukeśvara and place it later than the Vaital.

11. Haloes

All the divine images in the Madhukeśvara are provided with a halo behind each of their heads. The haloes are mostly oval or elliptical but a few instances of

1. Stella Kramrisch, *The Art of India*, Plate 67.
2. C. Sivaramamurti, *Early Eastern Chālukya Sculpture*, Plate XXXV, Fig. c.
3. K.C. Panigrahi, *op. cit.*, pp. 121-122 and Figs. 51-52.

circular shape can also be seen. Most of the divine figures in the Bhīmeśvara also have haloes round their heads. But, in the Someśvara, except Kārttikeya and Gaṇeśa, the other divine images do not have haloes. At Bhubanesvar, the practice of omitting haloes around the heads of the cult images starts with the Mukteśvara and the same practice is followed in the case of the later temples. Most probably, the craftsmen of Mukhaliṅgaṁ followed the tradition of the Mukteśvara in the case of the Someśvara. This would also help us to assign Someśvara later than the Mukteśvara.

CHAPTER FOUR

ICONOGRAPHY

The iconography of the Mukhaliṅgaṁ temples conforms to the pattern of iconography that one finds in medieval temples. In order to understand the iconographical features of the divine images found in these temples, a review of the development of iconography becomes necessary.

During the Gupta period many forms of Śiva and Vishnu appear in Hindu temples. Apart from the images, the Purānas of the Gupta period like the *Matsya-puraṇa*, the *Vishṇudharmottara purāṇa* and others contain chapters giving iconographic norms and characteristics of deities of different Brahmanical cults. Towards the end of this period, the *pratimālakshaṇa* and the *talamāna* of the different deities became standardised. Apart from the usual deities, the growth of Śiva and Vaishnava literature and rivalry and syncretism of the various sects led to the proli-fication of the images.

The iconography of Mukhaliṅgaṁ temples is closely related to that of the Orissan temples at Bhubanesvar. In Orissa starting from the 7th century A.D., Śaivism became the dominant religion and apart from this principal one, other sects like Śaktism and Vaishnavism became popular. The artists conformed to the prevailing religious conditions and filled the walls of these temples with deities of these cults. The Śaiva iconography of the Mukhaliṅgaṁ temples is mainly derived from the legends found in the Śaiva *Agames* and *Puranas*. Śiva is considered by the devotees as not only the lord of the five principal acts (*sṛishti*, *sthiti*, *laya*, *tirobhava* and *anugraha*) but also as the exponent of music and dance. The iconography of Śaivism is based on these qualities of Śiva and legends associated with them. It is usual to find in a Śaivite temple a *linga* in the sanctuary. The outer walls of the sanctum contain the images of Śaiva deities like Kārttikeya, Gaṇeśa, and Śiva's consort Pārvatī. In Mukhaliṅgaṁ temples the images of Gaṇeśa and Skanda are

found as *Pārśvadevates.* But the image of Pārvatī is conspicuous by its absence as *Pārsvedevata.* The outer walls contain the usual *Parivāra devatas* showing Śiva in forms like Natatāja, Gaṅgādharamūrti and the like. Ugra forms of Śiva like Andhakavadhamūrti can also be seen. Such rare images as Ekapādamūrti are also found in the Mukhaliṅgaṁ temples.

A number of images of Lakulīśa are also found in the temples of Mukhaliṅgaṁ. Lakulīśa was a great Śaiva ascetic teacher and so named because he always carried a club (Lakuṭa) in his hands. He is stated to have flourished in 2nd century A.D. and systematised the Pāśupata cult.[1] He had four principal disciples named Kusika, Mitra, Gārga and Kaurushya. At Mukhaliṅgaṁ, Lakulīśa is represented along with his four disciples. The Pāśupata sect originally had followers in Western India, especially in Gujarat and Rajasthan. During the medieval period it spread to Eastern India as testified by the large number of Lakulīśa images adorning the temples at Bhubanesvar. Then it travelled further South to Tamil Nadu via Mukhaliṅgaṁ and Biccavolu.[2]

Turning to the iconography of Śaktism, the cult immediately associated with Śaivism, the Mukhaliṅgaṁ temples offer the usual images associated with Śakti. The foremost of them is the representation of Mahishāsuramardini which is to be found in the medieval temples all over south India, Apart from this principal figure, the images of Saptamātṛikas, Durgā, Gangā and Yamunā are also found.

Turning to the Vaishnava iconography, the Mukhaliṅgaṁ temples contain only few examples. In these the *Vibhava* form of Vishnu depicting him as Varāha and and Narasiṁha can be found.

Apart from the iconog-aphy of these principal sects, the Mukhaliṅgaṁ temples also contain images of *Navagrahas*, Sūrya and syncretic forms like Harihara and Ardhanārīśvara.

A detailed examination of the iconography of the Mukhaliṅgaṁ temples on a comparative basis is attempted in the following pages.

MAHISHASURAMARDINI

The images of Mahishāsuramardini found at Mukhaliṅgaṁ conform to the descriptions given in the *Śilparatna* and the *Vishnūdharmottara* but with slight variations in the number of hands of the goddess and in the objects held by them. Whereas the *Śilparatna* states that the goddess should have ten arms, the *Vishṇu-*

1. J. N. Banerjea, *The Development of Hindu Iconography*, pp. 450-451.
2. A Lakulīśa image is found in a temple near Biccavolu belonging to the period of the Eastern Chālukyas of Vengi. Another image of Lakulīśā adorns the Tiruvoṟṟiyur temple near Madras and is said to have been introduced by Rājendra Choḷa, the son of Rājarāja the Great (C. Sivaramamurti, *Early Eastern Chālukya Sculpture*, p. 49).

dharmottara attributes her with twenty arms. According to the former, the right hands of the goddess should hold trident, sword, spear, wheel and bow and the left, the noose, goad, *kheṭaka*, battle-axe and bell. Both the texts describe the fight between the goddess and the demon in the following manner. In the fight the goddess had cut off the head of the buffalo. The goddess should be shown as piercing through the neck of the demon with a trident. The severed head of the buffalo should be lying at the bottom. According to the *Vishṇudharmotara*, the lion, the mount of the goddess, should be depicted as attacking the demon.[1]

No. 1. The central niche on the east wall of the north-east corner shrine of the *jagamohana* of the Madhukeśvara, contains an image of Mahishāsuramardini (Pl.26). She is depicted standing with eight arms. Three of her right hands carry a sword, a *vajra* and an arrow (?) while her natural right hand holds a long trident which pierces through the body of the buffalo demon. Her left hands carry a bow, a bell and a lotus (?) and the natural left hand presses down the upturned head of the buffalo demon. The sword in the upper right hand is held horizontally over the head of the goddess. The lion, the mount of the goddess, also takes part in the fight attacking the demon with its jaws and biting it. The demon is represented in therianthropomorphic form, as the body is human and the head is that of a buffalo. The demon holds a sword tightly in his hands. The demon is depicted as fighting fiercely but helpless to face the mighty power of the goddess. The goddess stands firmly on her left leg and her right leg is placed on the back of the demon crushing it to the ground. She is elaborately ornamented and has a third eye on her forchead.

No. 2. A niche on the north wall of the *antarāla* of the Bhīmeśvara contains an image ef eight-armed Mahishāsuramardini. She stands with her left leg resting firmly on her mount lion while her right leg is placed on the hind body of the buffalo demon and is seen crushing it down. Her hands carry weapons like sword (*khaḍga*), arrow (*bāṇa*), and bow (*dhanus*). One of her left hands carries a snake (*nāga*) which also attacks the demon. One of her right hands holds a trident (*triśūla*) which is seen piercing through the head of the human form of the demon issuing forth from the dead buffalo. The demon holds a sword in his right hand and a shield in the left. The sword of the goddess is held horizontally behind her head. The severed head of the buffalo can be seen at the bottom. Her mount, the lion, also engages itself in the combat and is seen attacking the demon. The goddess wears a conical crown, *kuṇḍalas*, jewelled armlets and *kaṭisūtra*. In addition to the usual necklace there is another ornament round her neck. The wristlets and armlets consist of many rings (or bangles). The lower part of her body is careved with a short thick folded garment like the one noticeable in the case of the Narasiṁha image in the same temple. There is an oval halo round the head of the goddess. The artist has fairly succeeded in representing the goddess as fighting the demon with effortless ease.

1. T.A. Gopinatha Rao, *Elements of Hiudu Iconography*, Vol. I, Pt. II, Apdendix C, pp. 109-112.

No. 3. The large central niche on the north wall of the sanctum of the Someśvara contains an image of tenarmed Mahishāsuramardini carved almost in round (Pl.27). This image closely resembles the one on the wall of the Bhīmeśvara described earlier. The goddess stands with her left leg placed on her mount lion and the right on the back of the buffalo demon crushing the latter under her foot. Her hands carry sword, arrow, trident, goad (*aṅkusa*) and wheel (*chakra*), on the right and axe, conch (*śankha*), bow (partly broken), snake and shield on the left. The sword is held horizontally above her head with the axe supporting it on the right. The trident is seen piercing through the head of the human body which comes out of the dead buffalo. She wears the usual ornaments including a prominent waist girdle adorning her elegant body. The hair is arranged with a big knot at the back. The smile on her face indicates with what an effortless ease she is fighting against the demon. The human form of the demon holds a pointing sword in his right hand and a shield in the left. Another sword hangs on the right. The severed head of the buffalo can be seen at the bottom. The lion, the mount of the goddess, carved at the bottom, is also seen attacking the demon with its jaws and teeth. The standing female attendants carved behind the goddess at the bottom, one on either side, carry heavy objects on their heads. A lotus is carved in each of the top corners.

No. 4. The upper medallion of the *chaitya* arch on the north face of the *śikhara* of the Bhīmeśvara contains an image of multi-armed Mahishāsuramardini. It is an exact replica of the one found on the north wall of the *antarāla*.

No. 5. A small projecting panel on the top moulding of the *bada* on the west face of the sanctum of the Bhīmeśvara depicts an image of Mahishāsuramardini. Except for its small size and damaged condition, in all respects it resembles the other images of the goddess noticed earlier.

Mahesamurti

The *Suprabhedāgama* describes Maheśamūrti as having ten arms and five heads, the latter representing different aspects of Śiva. It adds that the god should wear *yajñopavīta* and many ornaments [1] The image of Maheśamūrti found in the Madhukeśvara, however, is carved in half-bust form with three heads representing only three aspects of Śiva.

An image of Maheśamūrti is carved in the *chaitya* arch at the bottom of the central band on the east face of the tower of the north-east corner shrine of the *jagamohana* in the Madhukeśvara temple. It depicts the bust of the god with three heads, The central one is placid and represents the *saumya* aspect of Śiva. The god wears a *jaṭamukuta* and *kuṇḍalas*. The right face is fierce-looking with protruding eyes, prominent eyebrows, a moustache and a beard. Two fangs come out of his mouth and he carries a snake in his hand. This form represents the *ghora* aspect

1. T.A. Gopinatha Rao, *Elements of Hindu Iconography*, Vol. II, Pt. II, Appendix B,. pp. 191-92.

of Śiva. The left one is that of a female standing for his consort Umā. She wears a *jaṭāmukuta* and holds a lotus in her hand. The slightly downcast eyes, the smooth flowing outlines of the facial contours and the lotus in her hand go to prove the feminine character of the left face. All the three faces show a third eye on each of the foreheads. The god wears a necklace and a beaded three-stringed *yajñopavīta*.

VYAKHYANA DAKSHINAMURTI

The image of Vyākhyāna Dakshiṇāmūrti found in the Bhīmeśvara conforms to the description furnished by the *Śilparatna* and the *Āgama* text of the Śaivites. According to these texts, the four-armed god should be shown seated in *Vīrāsana* under a banyan tree. His upper right hand should hold a rosary while the lower right should be held in *vyākhyāna mudra*. His upper left hand should hold a *nīlotpala* flower and the lower left should show *varada* and rest on his knee. The god should be adorned with *jaṭāmukuta*, *kuṇḍalas*, *yajñopavīta*, etc.[1]

No. 1. The figures of Dakshiṇāmūrti is popular in the Tamil region. In the late Pallava and Choḷa sculptures, there are a number of representations of this form. He is usually depicted in *yoga*, *jñāna*, *viṇādhara* and *vyākhyana* forms.

The niche on the south wall of the sanctum of the Bhīmeśvara contains an image of four-armed Dakshināmūrti seated on a stool in *ardhaparyaṅka* (Pl.28). The upper hands carry a rosary (*akshamālā*) and a flower, while the lower hands are broken. The lower right hand probably showed *jñāna* or *vyākhyāna mudru* and the left rested on his thigh. There is an oval halo round his head and the foliage of the tree, under which he is seated, is shown round and above his head. He wears ear-rings, a jewelled necklace, a jewelled waist girdle, a banded *yajñopavīta* and a triple-stranded *yajnopavīta*, a jewelled *kaṭisūtra*, jewelled armlets, wristlets and anklets. The coiffure is made up of *jaṭas* arranged in a conical fashion and ornamented with a crown in front. The lower part of the body is closely covered with a garment upto the kness. He is broad-shouldered with an attenuated body and elongated limbs. The nose, the lower hands, the fingers of the upper right hand and the left leg of the figure are, however, broken. Below the seat are shown a female figure on the right and a male on the left; both seated. The former probably represents Pārvatī waiting before her marriage on the god shown on the right who was doing austerities in a hermitage. Still lower can be seen two seated figures, a female on the right and a male on the left. The female figure is seated in the same pose as the female above and probably represents Pārvatī again. This time the male figure wears a garland and holds it in his hands. It shows that Pārvatī placed the garland round the neck of god after his austerities were complected.

ŚIVA

The images of Śiva found in the Mukhaliṅgaṁ temples generally conform to

1. *Ibid.*, pp. 137-141.

the description given in the *Suprabhedāgama* and the *Śilparatna*. According to the former, the god should be represented with four arms and three eyes. He should wear *jaṭāmukuta* with a crescent moon adorning it. He should be clad with a tiger-skin garment. He should also wear *yajñopavīta*, *kuṇḍalas* and other ornaments. The *Śilparatna* furnishes the descriptions of multi-armed images of Śiva and adds that he should hold objects like trident, rosary, miniature drum, etc.

No. 1. The smaller niche on the right on the east wall of the north-east corner shrine of the *jagamohana* in the Madhukeśvara, contains a four-armed image of Śiva standing in *abhanga*. The right hands carry an axe and a rosary. While the lower left holds the tassels of the waist cloth, the upper left holds a long trident. The left leg is slightly bent forward. He wears a *jaṭāmukuta* with locks of *jaṭas* flying to the sides, a jewelled *katisutra* and a long single-stranded *yajñopavita*.

No. 2. In a niche on the north wall of the *jagamohana* of the Madhukeśvara is found an image of four-armed Śiva standing in *abhaṅga*. The upper right hand holds a rosary while the lower one shows *varada*. The left hands carry a water pot and a miniature stag. Śiva carrying miniature stag in one of his hands is popular in Tamil-nadu and shows influence from that direction. Śiva wears *jaṭamukuta*, *udarabandha* and other usual ornaments and a long double-stranded *yajñopavīta*. In spite of the damaged condition of the figure, the smile lurking on his face generates a refreshing feeling in the heart of the onlooker. Two standing female attendant figures are carved one on either side at the bottom right below the two lower hands of the god. They are depicted in graceful poses carrying heavy objects. The coiffure of the female on the left is so beautifully arranged as to support the heavy load on her head.

No. 3. The *chaitya* arch at the bottom of the central band of the north face of the tower of the north-west corner *rekha* of the *jagamohana* in the Madhukeśvara, contains the bust of a four-armed Śiva. He carries a trident in his upper right hand, a rosary (*akshamālā*) in lower right, an axe in upper left and a vase in lower left. He wears *jaṭamukuta*, triple-stranded *yajñopavīta*, and other ornaments.

No. 4. A vertical projection above the north wall of the *jagamohana* of the Madhukeśvara, contains a niche which is surmounted by a wagon roof. An image of two-armed Śiva is carved in that niche. He is seated in *sukhāsana* with his right hand bent inwards at the elbow and resting on the upraised knee and holding probably a flower while his left tests on the thigh. There is a halo round his head. A female figure standing in a graceful pose is carved to his left. Anyther female figure, probably a flying *apsara*, with her hands in *añjali* is found in the top right corner.

No. 5. The *chaitya* arch at the bottom of the central band on the west face of the tower of the south-west corner *rekha* of the *jagamohana* in the Madhukeśvara, contains a bust of Śiva. He carries a rosary and a lotus in his hands. On his forehead is carved the third eye and a snake is found round his neck. He wears *jaṭāmukuta*, necklace and wristlets.

No. 6. A niche on the south wall of the *jagamohana* of the Madhukeśvara contains an image of four-armed Śiva standing in *tribhaṅga* on a pedestal placed on the back of the reclining demon Dakshā (?). Three of the god's hands carry a trident, a rosary and an axe while the lower left holds a vase placed against his thigh. His forehead bears a third eye and his *membrum virile* is shown erect but part of which is now broken. There is an oval halo round his head. He wears a *jaṭāmukuta* some locks of which falling to the sides, a double-stranded *yajñopavīta*, a chainlike *kaṭisūtra* and other ornaments. A serpent with uplifted hood comes from behind over the right shoulder. The tiger skin garment closely covers the god's two legs upto the knees. The two-horned demon Daksha lies on the ground horizontally on his front, being crushed by the feet of the god. He holds a sword and a scarf in his two hands and looks helplessly. The two attendant male figure wearing horns on their heads, standing one on either side of the god at the bottom and carrying weapons in their hands, are also seen pressing down the body of the demon under their feet.

No. 7. The lower medallion of the *Chaitya* arch on the north face of the *śikhara* of the Bhımeśvara contains an image of two-armed Śiva seated in *ardhaparyaṅka* on a pedestal. The right and left hands show *abhaya* and *varada* respectively. He wears a *jaṭāmukuta*, the unusual feature here being that it is arranged in a conical shape. He is ornamented with a necklace, a waist girdle and a *yajñopavīta*. Nandi, the mount of the god, is carved at the bottom but the figure is now in a damaged condition.

NAGARAJA

The image of Nāgas found in the Madhukeśvara generally conform to the description given in the *Śilparatna*. According to this text, Nāga should be represented with the upper part of his body in human form and the lower part in serpentine form. He should be canopied under a hooded snake, the hoods numbering one, three, five or even seven. As the sculptures of Nāgas in the Madhukeśvara are carved for a special purpose, they do not, however, conform to the description in the *Śilparatna* with regard to the objects held in their hands.[1]

No. 1. The central niche on the north wall of the north-east corner *rekha* of the *jagamohana* in the Madhukeśvara, contains the standiag figure of a Nāgarāja with a face which is now damaged. His right hand carries a rosary and the left an indistinct object. He wears a crown, a necklace, wristlets, a *kaṭisūtra*, and a triple-stranded long *yajñopaīta*. His coiffure is made up of snail shell curls like that of the Buddha figures and coils of his hair fall over the shoulders on the two sides. The attendent female figures are carved at the bottom, one on either side, the left one depicted in an elegant pose with her hands in *añjali*.

1. T. A. Gopinatha Rao, *Elements of Hindu Iconography*, Vol. II, Pt. II, Appendix B, pp. 273-274.

No. 2. Carved on a rectangular slab and placed against the north wall of the *deul* of Madhukeśvara at the bottom supported from behind by a projection from the *bada,* is the charming bust of a Nāgarāja in human form (Pl.6). He is canopied under a seven-hooded snake. Each of the hoods of the serpent bears a jewel on its top. His two hands hold a well-decorated vase placed against his chest. A scarf passes round his back and over his arms and its ends fall on either side. He wears a crown, a chain-like *yajñopavita* and other ornaments. His coiffure is made up of coiled locks, the side ones which fall on his shoulders. The figure of Nāgarāja and the vase in his hands are so arristically and functionally arranged as to make the pot to act as a spout to drain out the water from inside the cells. This happy motif latar found its way into East Java and Bali where it appeared in 10th century A.D.[1]

No. 3. Four sculptured figures of Nāgarajas are placed equidistantly towards the top of north wall of *jagamohana* of the Madhukeśvara supported at the back by projections from the wall. The second one from the east is seated in *padmāsana* while the first is now missing. The two on the western side are carved in busts. Except for the western most one, the other two do not have heads at present. The former is conopied under a five hooded snake. Each of them holds in his hands a vase placed against his chest. The functional representation of these figures corresponds to the one noticed earlier, but here the spouts are intended to drain out the water from over the flat roof of the *jagamohana.*

No. 4. Resembling those on the northern side, there are four busts of pot-bellied Nāgarāja arranged equidistantly at the top of the south well of the *jagamohana* in the Madhukeśvara. They hold in their hands decorated veses which act as spouts to drain out the water from over the flat roof of the *jagamohana.* While the eastern-most one is canopied under a seven-hooded snake, that at the western end is canopied under a five hooded serpent.

No. 5. There are two busts of Nāgārājas at the top, one on either side of the east doorway of the *jagamohana* in the Madhukesvara. Like the other noted earlier, these Nāgarājas hold vases in their hands and the rain water from over the flat roof of the *jagamohana* is drained out through these spouts. The one on the right is canopied under a seven-hooded snake and that on the left under a five-hooded snake.

Ekapadamurti

The *Visvakarma-silpa* mentions Ekapādamūrti as one of the elevan Rudras. The god should be depicted with only one leg on which he stands. However, this text prescribes as many as 16 hands to the god whereas the images found in the Mukhalingaṁ temples have only four hands.[2]

1. C. Sivaramamurti, *Royal Conquests and Cultural Migrations in South India and the Deccan,* pp. 41-42.
2. T.A. Gopinatha Roa, *Elements of Hindu Iconography,* Vol. II, Pt. II, Appendix B, p. 193.

A niche on the north wall of the *jagamohana* of the Madhukeśvara, contains an image of Ekapādamūrti who stands firmly on his only leg. His four hands carry a long trident, a rosary, a miniature stag and an indistinct object. He wears a *jaṭamukta* with the crescent moon carved on it, a pearl-stringed *yajñopavtta*, *udarabanda* and other ornaments. The god is represented in terrific form with a fierce-looking face and protruding eyes. His *membrum virile* is shown erect. Ekapādamūrti is one of the forms of Śiva which signifies the severe penance undertaken by him. In tune with the ascetic purport of the figure, two asceties looking up at him are carved one on either side at the bottom. One of them seems to hold a *liṅga* in his hands. They are depicted praying for the god's grace and appear to be overwhelmed by fear and admiration for the god.

No. 2. The smallest niche on the left on the north wall of the sanctum of the Someśvara, contains an image of ithyphallic, four-armed Ekapādamūrti who stands firmly on his only leg (Pl.29). His hands carry a trident and a rosary on the right and a snake and a vase on the left. He wears a *jaṭamukuta* with a crescent moon on it and ornaments of snakes including necklace and *yajñopavīta*. He is fierce-looking with protruding eyes and with the fangs shown bare in his slightly open mouth. The upper portion of the lower part of the body is covered with a tiger skin garment. There is a circular halo round the head of the god. At the bottom stand on the right a bearded sage, probably Bhagīratha, praying with his hands in *añjali* and on the left Ganga standing in a graceful pose on the crocodile. In the top left corner a lotus is carved in half.

Harihara

The images of Harihara found in the Mukhaliṅgaṁ temples conform to the description given in the *Śilparatna* and the Saiva *Āgamas*. According to these texts, the right half of the god should represent Śiva and the left, Vishnu. The Siva half should have, 2, 3 or 4 hands which should show either *abhaya* or *varada* or carry battle axe, rosary or trident. Śiva half should be clad with skin garment and adorned with *jaṭāmukuta* and *sarpakuṇḍala*. The Vishnu half should have two hands, one of which carring either conch, wheel or club and the other to be held in *Kaṭi-hasta* pose. The Vishnu half should wear a jewelled crown and *makarakuṇḍala* and be clad with a silk garment. In the Harihara images at Mukhaliṅgaṁ the respective mounts of Siva and Vishnu, namely the bull and Garuḍa are carved at the bottom, thus, conforming to the description in the *Vishṇudharmottara*.[1]

No. 1. An image of Harihara, standing in *tribhaṅga* on a pedestal and four-armed, is carved in a niche on the north wall of the *jagamohana* in the Madhukesvara (Pl.30). The right half of the figure stands for Śiva and the left half for Vishnu. The upper right hand holds a snake while the lower one shows *varada* with a lotus carved on its upturned palm. The upper left hand carries a club (*gada*)

1. T.A. Gopinatha Rao, *Elements of Hindu Iconography*, Vol. II, Pt. II, Appendix B, pp. 168-171.

while the lower one is shown in *kaṭihasta* carrying a conch. On the right (Śiva's) half a third eye is carved on the forehead and the *membrum virile* is shown erect. The right half of the crown worn by the god shows *jāṭāmukuṭa* while the left half has *kirīṭamukuta*. *Jaṭas* are shown falling on the right while the falling locks on the left are coiled. He wears a pearl-stringed *yajñopavīta* and other usual ornaments. There is a oval halo behind the head. Immediately below the pedestal are carved the figures of the bull and the lion, the mounts of Śiva and Vishnu, on the right and left respectively. On either side at the bottom are carved the standing figures of the *āyudhapurushas* of Siva and Vishnu. The trident, the principal weapon of Śiva, comes out from the head of the *āyudhapurusha* on the right. The same type of represenration of an *āyudhapurusha* is also found carved by the side of the *dvārapāla* at the bottom of the doorjamb on the eastern entrance to the *jagamohana* in the Madhukeśvara. Here he holds a rosary in one of his hands, the other being broken. *Chakra*, a weapon of Vishnu, is shown behind the head of the *āyudhapurusha* on the left. He carries an indistinct object in his left hand while the right holds the tassels of his waist cloth.

No. 2. A niche on the north wall of the south-west corner shrine in the Madhukeśvara, contains an image of Harihara standing in *tribhaṅga*. The right half of the figure represents Śiva and the left half Vishnu. He is four-armed and his hands carry a rosary and a vase (?) on the right and a wheel and a conch on the left. The lower left, holding the conch, rests on the right shoulder of a female standing to the left of the god at the bottom. A snake with raised hood emerges from behind the right hand above the right shoulder. The right half wears a *jaṭāmukuṭa* with a crescent moon on it and with locks of the jata falling over the right shoulder, and the left half a bejewelled *kirīṭamukuṭa*. On the right half a third eye is found on the forehead and the *membrum vīrile* is shown erect. The right half of the lower part of the body is scarcely covered except for a skin garment upto the thighs while the left half is covered with a designed garment upto well below the knee with its folds hanging along the inner side of the left leg. He wears a beaded necklace, jewelled armlets and wristlets, a pearl-stringed *yajñopavīta* and a *kaṭisūtra*. At the bottom behind the right leg is carved the bull, the mount of Śiva, with its head turned to face front. However, Garuda, the mount of Vishnu, is conspicuous by its absence.

No. 3. The smaller niche on the left on the east wall of the sanctum of the Someśvara, contains an image of four-armed Harihara standing in *dvibhanga* (Pl.31). The right half of the figure stands for Śiva and the left half for Vishnu. The upper right hand carries a trident while the lower one shows *varāda*. Of the left hands the upper holds a conch while the lower one rests on the top of an inverted club. He wears a *jāṭāmukuṭa* with a crescent moon on the right half and a bejewelled crown on the left and other usual ornaments including a pearl-stringed *yajñopavīta*. The *membrum virile* is shown erect on the right half. The skin garment on the right and an ordinary garment on the left closely cover the lower part of his body upto well above his knees. On the right the bull, the mount of Śiva, stands at the bottom with its head uplifted towards its lord. Garuda, Vishnu's mount, stands at the bottom

left with his head slightly raised to look at the god. Garuḍa is represented in human form but has wings on his shoulders. In the top left corner a lotus is carved.

KARTTIKEYA

The images of Kārttikeya found in the Mukhaliṅgaṁ temples also conform to the description given in the iconographic texts. In one of his hands he holds a spear or a trident and in the other a fruit or a cock. His mount peacock accompanies him. The early images of the god found in the Madhukeśvara are, however, depicted with some of the above attributes being absent.[1]

No. 1. A niche on the north wall of the *jagamohana* in the Madhukeśvara, contains a youthful figure of Kārttikeya. He is two-armed and stands in *tribhaṅga* in a charming pose with his left leg slightly bent forward. He carries a fruit in his right hand placed against his chest while the left hand holds the tassels of his waist cloth. He wears the *Śikhaṇḍaka* arrangement of the coiffure (arranged here in three locks) peculiar to him, a long and triple-stranded *yajñopavīta*, and other usual ornaments. Kārttikeya is the son of Siva and Pārvatī and so included in the Saivite class of images. But here, suprisingly, two attendent male figures, one carrying a conch and the other a club, both Vaishnavite symbols, are carved one on either side at the bottom. Here, the peacock, the vehicle of the god, which is usually depicted in all images of Kārttikeya, is absent. Nor the cock is present in one of his hands. Therefore, the image should be assigned to early medieval period. Two flying *vidyādharas*, each carrying a garland is his hands, are carved in the upper angles of the niche.

No. 2. The central niche on the north wall of the north-west corner *rekha* of the *jagamohana* in the Madhukeśvara, contains a youthful figure of Kārttikeya. He stands in *abhaṅga* with his left leg slighly bent forward. He is two-armed and his left hand rests on the top of a staff while the right, which originally probably carried a fruit is placed on his hip. The hair is arranged in three locks, the two side ones falling on his shoulders. He wears a pearl-stringed *yajñopavīta* and other usual ornaments. He is depicted almost naked except for his waist cloth. The peacock, the mount of the god, looking up to him is carved at the bottom on the right.

No. 3. A defaced figure of Kārttikeya is found in a niche on the south wall of the *jagamohana* in the Madhukeśvara. He is two armed and stands in *tribhaṅga* with the left leg slightly bent forward. The right hand carries a fruit while the left holds the tassels of the waist cloth which passes round his thighs. He wears pearl-stringed *yojñopavīta*, a chain-like waist girdle, a jewelled *kaṭisūtra* and other ornaments. The lower part of his body is covered up to the knees with a garment whose folds hang in between his legs. The peacock, the mount of Skanda, is carved behind his legs, at the bottom. In the top left corner can be seen a defaced figure of a *Vidyādhara*(?) kneeling

1. T.A. Gopinatha Rao, *Elements of Hindu Iconography*, Vol. II, Pt. II, Appendix B, pp. 205-228.

on a pedestal with his hands in *añjali*. The image may be assinged to the early medieval period on the basis of the absence of the cock as one of the attributes of Kārttikeya.

No. 4. The *chaitya* arch at the bottom of the central band on the west face of the tower of the Madhukeśvara contains youthful figure of two-armed Kārttikeya riding on his mount the peacock which faces front with its wings spread fully on either side. The two hands carry a spear (*śaktī*) in the right and a fruit in the left, the coiffure is arranged in three locks and he wears a triple-stranded *yajñopavīta* and jewelled armlets and wristlets. There are two male attendants, one on either side, carrying long tridents in their right hands.

No. 5. A panel on the left pilaster flanking the doorway of the north-west corner shrine in the Madhukeśvara, contains an image of boyish-looking and two-armed Kārttikeya riding on his mount peacock. The right hand of the god holds a long trident while the left carries a cock (*kukkuṭa*). There is an oval halo round his head. The coiffure shows the *Śikhaṇḍaka* arrangement in three locks, the side ones of which fall over his shoulders, and is ornamented with a fillet above the forehead. He wears a necklace, wristlets and anklets. Though this image of Kārttikeya resembles the one on the west face of the *śikhara* over the main shrine, on the basis of the presence of cock as one of the attributes of the god, the former has to be assigned to a later date. Thus, this carving appears to be a later addition.

No. 6. The oblong panel in the centre of the lintel of the niche on the right on the north wall of the *deul* of the Someśvara, contains a youthful figure of two-armed Kārttikeya standing in *tribhaṅga*. He holds a spear in his right hand and a cock in the left. He wears the usual ornaments including a long pearl-stringed *yajñopavīta* and a waist-girdle. His hair is arranged in three locks (*Sikhaṇḍaka*). The lower part of his body is covered with a garment upto the knees. His mount peacock is seen to his right at the bottom. To his left stands a goat at the bottom. The goat may stand for Naigameya (Changavaktra, an aspect of the god himself).[1]

No. 7. The central niche on the east wall of the sanctum of the Someśvara, contains an image of two-armed youthful Kārttikeya carved almost in round (Pl. 32). He is seated in *ardhaparyaṅka* on a stool with his right foot resting on his mount. He carries a fruit in his right hand which rests on his thigh, while the left hand, now broken, probably held a cock. He wears a pearl-stringed *yajñopavīta*, jewelled waist girdle, a beautiful necklace and other ornaments. The hair is arranged in three locks, the side ones of which fall over his shoulders. The lower part of his body is covered with a gartment upto above his knees and the folds of the drapery fall down from over the stool. There is a circular halo round his head. His mount peacock, realistically represented with a natural tail, is found at the bottom with its head turned back towards its lord. Two flying *vidyādharas* carrying garlands in

1. J.N. Banerjee, *Development of Hindu Iconography*, p. 367.

their hands can be seen one on either side in the two top corners, the right one being partly damaged.

INDRA

Indra is one of the *Ashṭa-dikpālas* and is the lord of the East. In the *Āgama* texts he is described as having two hands and holding in one hand a thunderbolt and in the other a goad or *nīlotpala* flower and being accompanied by his mount elephant. He should wear a crown and other ornaments. The image of the god found in the Madhukeśvara conforms to the above description but with slight variation as regards to the object held in the second hand.[1]

In a niche on the north wall of the *jagamohana* in the Madhukeśvara is found an image of two-armed Indra standing in *abhaṅga* (Pl. 33). His right hand holds a thunderbolt while his left holds the tassels of his waist cloth. He wears a be-jewelled crown, a long pearl-stringed *yajñopavīta*, and other usual ornaments. The locks of his coiled hair fall to the sides. On each of his shoulders an additional eye is carved. The lower part of his body is covered with a garment upto the knees and the folds of the drapery hang in between his legs. The elephant, the mount of Indra, is carved behind him at the bottom, with its head turned towards the front and its tail flying to the back.

CHANDRA

A niche on the north wall of the *jagamohana* in the Madhukeśvara contains an image of Chandra. He is depicted two-armed and stands in *abhaṅga*. His right hand holds a rosary while the left carries a vase. His face is entirely damaged. The crescent moon is carved at the top behind his head. There is a circular halo round his head. He wears a long triple-stranded *yajñopavīta*, a chain-like *kaṭisūtra* and other ornaments. Two attendant male figures standing in different poses are carved one on either side at the bottom.

GARUDA

The image of Garuḍa found in the Madhukeśvara conforms partly to the description given in the texts. According to the iconogrhphic texts, he should have four arms, two of which held in *añjali* and the other two carrying an umbrella and a jar of nectar. He should be represented with two wings, a beak and flabby belly.[1]

No. 1. In a niche on the north wall of the *jagamohana* in the Madhukeśvara the figure of two-armed anthropomorphic form of Garuḍa is carved. He is seen standing cross-legged in *tribhaṅga*. The right hand holds a rosary placed against his chest

1. T.A. Gopinatha Rao, *Elements of Hindu Iconography*, Vol. II, Pt. II, Appendix B, pp. 251-253.
2. *Ibid.*, Vol. I, Pt. II, Appendix C, pp.73-74.

while the left rests on the top of a staff. Two wings are carved one on either side towards the top. He wears *nāgas* as ornaments for necklace, armlets, *udarabandha* and anklets. The lower part of the body is covered upto the knees and fold of the drapery hang in between his legs.

No. 2. A rectangular panel above a niche on the east wall of the Someśvara contains an image of two-armed Garuḍa standing in *samabhaṅga*. He carries in his hands a rosary on the right and a vase on the left. He is shown bearded and moustached. The wings spread above from his shoulders. He wears the usual ornaments including a pearl-stringed *yajñopavīta*. On either side at the bottom stand a male attendant.

SURYA

The earlier images of the Sun god found in the Madhukeśvara conform to the description given in the *Bṛihatsaṁhitā*. According to this text, Sūrya should have two hands ; each of which holding a lotus and he should be clad in a northern dress with boots covering his feet. The other images of the god found in the Mukhaliṅgaṁ temples conform to the description given in the *Amśumadbhedāgama* and *Suprabhedāgama*. These texts add that the Sun god should be represented as driving on a chariot running on one wheel and drawn by seven horses and with the charioteer Aruṇa on it. The god should be accompanied by his wives Ushā and Pratyūshā. There should be a *prabhāmaṇḍala* behind him. He should wear a crown and other ornaments.[1]

No. 1. The smaller niche to the right of Kārttikeya on the north wall of the north-west corner *rekha* of the *jagamohana* in the Madhukeśvara, contains the lonely figure of Sūrya standing in *samabhaṅga*. He is two-armed and his hands hold lotuses by their stalks. He wears northern dress (*Udīchyavesha*) down to the feet with boots covering his feet. The ends of his waist cloth fly on either side. He wears a crown, a waist-girdle and other ornaments. He is accompanied here neither by his wives nor by his horses and charioteer.

No. 2. The smaller niche on the right on the west wall of the above *rekha*, contains a four-handed image of Sūrya. He stands in *abhaṅga* with the head slighly bent to the right. The upper hands hold lotus buds while the lower hands hold the waist cloth the ends of which fly on the left. The lower part of his body is closely covered down to the feet. Here also, like the above image, he is represented alone. He wears a crown and other ornaments.

No. 3. The central niche on the same wall contains anorher image of Sūrya. He is too-armed and stands in *samabhaṅga*. The two hands hold full-blown lotuses by their stalks. He wears a northern dress with the lower part of his body covered

1. *Ibid.*, pp. 83-91.

down to the feet and with boots on his feet. He wears a bejewelled crown and other ornaments. Here also, like the above two, he is represented alone.

No. 4. The smaller niche to the left on the east wall of the south-east corner shrine of the *jagamohana* in the Madhukeśvara, contains an image of two-armed Sūrya standing in *samabhaṅga*. The hands hold full-blown lotuses by their stalks. He is ornamented with a bejewelled crown and a *kaṭisūtra*. He wears the northern dress with the lower part of his body closely covered with a garment down to his feet and boots on his feet. A scarf passes over his thighs and arms with the ends falling on either side. The rays emitted by the god themselves form an oval halo round his head. Like the figures noted earlier, here also he is not accompanied by his wives or by horses and his charioteer. In spite of the face and the chest being damaged, the slim body and the *prabhāmaṇḍala* at the top add beauty to the whole composition.

No. 5. On the lintel of the doorway of the south-east corner shrine in the Madhukeśvara is carved the image of a two-armed Sūrya. He is seen standing in *samabhaṅga*, the portion of his legs below the thighs, however, being obscured by the presence of the charioteer, the chariot and the horses. The two hands hold full-blown lotuses by their stalks. There is an elliptical halo round his head formed by the rays emitted by the god. The visible lower part of his body is closely covered with a garment and a scarf passes round his back and over the arms with its ends flying to the sides. He wears a *kirīṭamukuṭa*, necklace, wristlets, jewelled waist-girdle, and *kaṭisutra*. Aruṇa, the charioteer of the god, is seen seated in front of the god on the chariot. Aruṇa is usually represented without legs, but here he is shown with legs placed in *padmāsana*.[1] He holds the reins of the horses in his left hand. At the bottom are carved seven horses. The wheel of the chariot is carved behind the central horse. On either side at the bottom is found a female elegantly bending her body outwards in a curved shape. The two females may represent Ushā and Pratyūshā, the wives of the god. This image of Sūrya closely resembles the one on the east face on the *śikhara* of the Śiśireśvara temple at Bhubanesvar which is datable to 8th century A.D.[2]

No. 6. The niche at the bottom of the *chaitya* arch on the east face of the *śikhara* of the Someśvara contains an image of Sūrya appropriately placed to face the rising Sun in the east. This image is almost a replica of the one noticed earlier on the lintel of the doorway of the south-east corner shrine in the Madhukeśvara temple except for the following differences. In each of the two top corners a flying *Vidyādhara* is seem carrying a garland in his hands. There is an oval halo round the

1. In an image of Sūrya found on the east face of the *śikhara* of the Śiśireśvara Temple at Bhubanesvar, which is assigned to 8th century A.D., also Aruna is represented with legs. Another image hailing from the Eastern Chālukyan temple of Virabhadra at Biccavolu, belonging to late 9th century A.D., shows Aruṇa with legs.
2. Another image of Sūrya hailing from Khiching and assigned to early medieval period can be classed with the two figures described above. J.N. Banerjee, *Development of Hindu Iconography*. Pl. XXX, Fig. 2.

head of the god instead of the rays forming a *Prabhāvali*. Ushā and Pratyūshā, the wives of the god, stand erect instead of being in curved postures. The god here faces east.

UMASAHITAMURTI

The images of Umāsahitamūrti found in the Mukhaliṅgaṁ temples partly conform to the description given in the *Śilparatna*. This text states that Śiva should be depicted with four hands. He should be seated in *ardhaparyaṅka* and wearing *jaṭāmukuṭa*, *yajñopavīta*, *kuṇḍalas* and other ornaments. Umā, the consort of Śiva should be seated in *ardhaparyaṅka* to the left of Śiva. She should hold a flower in one of her hands and be well-ornamented.[1] However, in the poses of the hands and in the objects held in them, the Mukhaliṅgaṁ images do not strictly conform to the description given in the *Śilparatna* and other texts. This may be understandable because the Mukhaliṅgaṁ sculptor was also concerned in representing the divine couple in acts of amorous nature.

No. 1. A long panel carved in low relief on a horizontal projection towards the top of the north wall of the *jagamohana* in the Madhukeśvara, depicts Umāsahitamūrti. Śiva and Pārvati are seated side by side on a pedestal with their mounts, bull and lion, carved respectively at the bottom. Standing *śivagaṇas* appear on either side of the divine couple and are in turn flanked by flying *Gandharvas*. Portions of the panel are, however, damaged now.

No. 2. In the top centre of the doorway of the south-west corner shrine in the Madhukeśvara are found the images of Śiva and Pārvatī seated on a pedestal. Śiva is seated in *ardhaparyaṅka* with his left foot resting on his mount bull. Pārvatī is seated in *sukhāsana* by his side. Śiva is holding a trident in his right hand and Pārvatī a flower in one of her hands. Pārvatī turns her face slightly towards Śiva and looks at him lovingly. The bull and the lion, the mounts of Śiva and Pārvatī respectively, are carved at the bottom below the pedestal. The faces of the figures of Śiva and Pārvatī are, however, partly damaged.

No. 3. The lower medallion of the *chaitya* arch on the east face of the tower of the north-west corner shrine in the Madhukeśvara, contains an image of Umāsahitamūrti. Śiva and Pārvatī are seen seated on a bull. Pārvatī's left hand is thrown round the back of Śiva and rests on his left shoulder. Śiva turns the upper part of his body to face front. His left hand rests on his right thigh while the right hand is thrown round the back of Pārvatī and clasps her right shoulder. He wears a *jaṭāmukuṭa*. Both of them wear simple ornaments. The head of the bull, the mount of the god, is turned to face front and its *membrum virile* is shown erect. Nandi is ornamented with jewelled bands from some of which hang rows of bells. A big bell hangs from its neck.

1. T.A. Gopinatha Rao, *Elements of Hindu Iconography*, Vol. II, Pt. II, Appendix B, pp. 65-67.

No. 4. The central panel on the lintel of the central niche on the east wall of the sanctum of the Someśvara, depicts the figures of Śiva and Pārvatī seated side by side on a stool. The four-armed Śiva sits in *ardhaparyaṅka* with his right foot resting on his mount bull carved beneath the seat. His upper right hand carries a trident while the lower right show *abhaya*. Śiva slightly turns his face to the right and with his left hand lovingly touching the chin of Pārvatī's face, he turns her face towards him. His upper right hand is thrown round the back of his wife and gently presses her left breast. The two-armed Pārvatī sits partly on the left thigh of her husband, and rests her right foot on the back of her mount lion carved at the bottom. She holds a *ketaka* flower in her left hand throws her right hand round her husband's back resting finally on his right shoulder. In the top left corner a lotus is carved. On either side are carved *śīvagaṇas* and bearded ascetics, flanked by four-armed Gaṇeśa on the right and boyish-looking Kārttikeya riding his mount peacock on the left.

CHANDRASEKHARAMURTI

The image of Chandraśekharamūrti found in the Madhukeśvara partly conforms to the descriptions given in the *Aṁśumadbhedāgama* and the *Uttara Kāmikāgama*. According to these texts, the god should be depicted with a prominent crescent moon adorning the *jaṭāmukuṭa*. He should have three eyes and should wear *yajñopavīta*, *kuṇḍalas* and other ornaments. In the standing pose, in the poses of the hands and in the objects held in them, the Mukhaliṅgaṁ image, however, does not conform to the descriptions given in the above texts.[1]

No. 1. The central niche on the west wall of the south-west corner *rekha* of the *jagamohana* in the Madhukeśvara, contains an image of Śiva standing in *dvibhaṅga*. He is four-armed and carries a jar, a long trident and an axe in three of his hands while the upper right is broken. The third eye is carved on his forehead and a snake with raised hood comes from behind over the right soulders. He wears a *jaṭamukuṭa* with a prominent crescent moon carved on it, a pearl-stringed *yajñopavīta* and other ornaments. There is a halo round his head. A male deity with a halo round his head stands half-kneeling to Śiva's left at the bottom. His two hands hold tightly an indistinct object placed against his chest.

NATARAJA

According to the *Āgama* texts of the Śaivas, the modes of Śiva's dance are as many as 108. However, the most important of these are the *taṇḍava* and *chatura* modes, the former being popular in south India and the latter in north India. The images of Natarāja found in the Mukhaliṅgaṁ temples are depicted in *chatura* pose. The *Bharata Nāṭya Śāstra* states that in the *chatura* mode of dancing the left arm of the god should be in the *anchita* pose, the right one in the *chatura* pose,

1. *Ibid.*, pp. 54-56,

and the right leg in the *kuttita* pose. Accorping to the *Aṁśumadbhedāgama*, Pārvatī, the consort of Śiva, should be depicted to the left of the god and this feature can also be seen in the case of the Mukhaliṅgaṁ images of Natarāja.

No. 1. The *chaitya* arch on the west face of the tower of the south-west corner *rekha* of the *jagamohana* in the Madhukeśvara, contains in its upper medallion an image of ten-armed Natarāja. He is seen dancing in *chatura* pose whieh is popular in north India. The topmost two hands are held in a dancing pose with the fingers pointed towards the *jaṭa*. The natural left hand is thrown harizontally to the right while the natural right is held in front in *kaṭaka* pose. The lowermost two hands holds a serpent horizontally with its hood raised on the right. The remaining hands carry a rosary, a trident, a vase and an indistinct object. He wears a *jaṭamukuṭa* with the locks of his *jaṭa* flying to the sides, a long *yajñopavīta* and other ornaments. A seated female figure is found at the bottom on the left with her head turned up and lookīng at Śiva in admiration. The bull, the mount of the lord, with its head also turned up and looking at rhe dancing Śiva, is carved at the bottom behind the legs of Śiva. Due to the limited space of the meddallion in which it is depicted a feeling of congestion and over-crowding characterize the whole representation. In the poses of the figure and hands, this image of Natarāja closely resembles these found in the Paraśurāmeśvara and the Vaital groups of temples at Bhubanesvar, with the only difference here being the lowermost hands, instead of the topmost hold the snake which is necessitated by the lack of space at the top.

No. 2. In a niche on the south wall of the *jagamohana* in the Madhukeśvara lying immediately to the west of the south doorway is depicted an image of twelve-armed Natarāja dancing in *chatura* pose which is mainly found iu north India (Pl. 34). The topmost two hands hold a snake, which raises its hood on the left, horizontally above the head of the god. The next two hands are held in a dancing pose with their fingers pointing toward the head. Two more hands are bent inwards and held in front in *kaṭaka* pose. The natural left hand is thrown horizontally to the right with fingers pointing downwards while the natural right rests on his thigh. Three of his hands carry a rosary, aŋ axe and a jar. The remaining left hand gently touches the chin of the female standing on the left. He wears a *jaṭamukuṭa* with the crescent moon carved prominently on it. Some of the locks of his jaṭa fly to the sides due to the rapid moverrent of the dancing body. The third eye is carved on the forehead and the *membrum virile* is shown erect. He is scarcely dressed except for the skin garment which covers the lower part of the body upto well above the knees. He wears a pearl-stringed *yajñopavīta*, a waist-girdle and other usual ornaments. The bull, the mount of the god, is carved behind him at the bottom. It looks at its lord with its face upturned and is seen rhythmically dancing with its front right leg and tail upraised. To the god's left at the bottom is carved a female figure (Pārvatī ?) standing cross-legged with a delightful face. She slightly turns

1. *Ibid.*, pp. 115-133.

her head up towards the god who affectionately touches her bulging breast with the right hand. On the right is found the figure of an emaciated goddess who raises her head and looks at the dancing Natarāja and in imitation of him she also dances in the same pose. She is fierce-looking and depicted with shrunken belly, sunken eyes and skeleton frame. Though the increase in the number of hands and the elaboration of details presents a complicated look, the beautiful dancing pose, the vigorous movements of the body, the refreshing smile lurking on his lips, and the slim body go to make the figure lively and charming and full of animation and movement. In poses and *mudras* this image of Natarāja, like the one noticed earlier, closely resembles those in the Paraśurāmeśvara and the Vaital groups of temples at Bhubanesvar. As the act of Śiva touching with one of his hands the chin of a female by his side is peculiar to the Vaital-Śiśireśvara group of temples, this image cannot be dated later then 9th century A.D.

No. 3. The *Kīrttimukha* arch above the south doorway of the *jagamohana* in the Madhukeśvara, contains a fourteen-armed image of Natarāja in its upper medallion (Pl.35). He is seen dancing in *chatura* pose. The topmost two hands hold a snake horizontally above the head of the god. The serpent raises its hood and its tongues are drawn out. The next two hands are held in a dancing pose with fingers pointing to the *jaṭa*. Two hands are bent inwards at the elbow and are held in front in *kaṭaka* pose. The natural left hand is thrown horizontally to the right with fingers pointing downwards while another left hand lovingly touches the chin of the female (Pārvatī ?) seated on a pedestal to his left. Two lower hands are bent inwards in a dancing pose and hold indistinct objects. The remaining four hands carry a rosary, a vase, a trident and a skull. The nandi, carved behind him at the bottom, is also seen dancing with upraised head and tail. The representation of such an elaborate and complicated figure in so limited a space tends to lose beauty though it testifies to the skill of the craftsmen. Outside the medallion a number of figures are carved which include those of Gaṇeśa and Yogeśvarī dancing in imitation of Natarāja and musicians playing on drums and other instruments. This image also closely resembles the two described above and those at Bhubanesvar. A close counterpart of it is found in a *chaitya* medallion in the Vaital temple at Bhubanesvar[1] with the only difference being here that the two topmost hands hold a snake which motif is copied from the Paraśurāmeśvara example.

No. 4. The *chaitya* arch at the bottom of the central band on the east face of the tower of the Madhukeśvara, contains an image of six-armed Natarāja in the lower medallion. He is seen dancing in *chatura* pose. The topmost two hands hold a snake horizontally above his head. The hind body of the snake is coiled round the god's left arm and its raised hood is shown on the right. The middle right hand holds the tail of another serpent which passes round the god's back and over his left shoulder and hangs on the left. The middle left holds tightly an indistinct object and rests on the left thigh. The lower left hand is thrown horizontally across his

1. K. C. Panigrahi, *Archaeological Remains at Bhubaneswar*, Fig. 116.

body to the right with its fingers pointing donwards, while the lower right is held in front in *kaṭaka* pose. The *membrum virile* is shown erect and the forehead bears a third eye. He wears a *jaṭāmukuṭa*, a *sarpakuṇḍala* on the right ear, a chain-like *kaṭisūtra*, a rope-like *yajñopavīta* and other ornaments. There is a bowl-like halo round his head. The bull, the mount of the god, is carved to the left at the bottom. It is seen lifting its head towards its lord and dancing in imitation of the god. At the bottom on the right is carved a male attendant standing with his hands in *añjali.*

No. 5. The niche below the *chaitya* arch on the west face of the tower of the Someśvara, contains a ten-armed image of Natarāja dancing in the *chatura* pose. The top two hands hold a snake horizonatally above his head. The hood of the snake is raised on the right. Two of his right hands hold a miniature drum and a rosary. The fingers of another right hand are pointed downwards towards Yogeśvari who is found to the right of the god at the bottom. Two of his left hands holds a short trident and a skull. Another left hand is seen touching the chin of the female standing to his left at the bottom. The natural right hand of the god is held in front in *kaṭaka* pose, while the natural left hand is thrown horizonatally to the right with its fingers pointing downwards. The god wears the usual *jaṭāmukuṭa* with a crescent moon on it. He is ornamented with *kuṇḍalas,* two necklaces, armlets, wristlets, anklets and a pearl-stringed long *yajñopavīta.* The lower part of his body is carved with a skin garment. The *membrum virile* is shown erect. The bull, the mount of the god, is carved at the bottom behind his legs. Its head is turned to face front. The female carved at the bottom to the left of the god and whose chin is being affectionately touched by one of the heads of the god, is seen standing gracefully with the right hand resting on the thigh of the god and the left holding an indistinct object. Her face is slightly upraised and is looking lovingly at the god. The emaciated goddess Yogeśvarī is found on the right at the bottom. She is seen dancing in imitation of the god. She is depicted with shrunken belly and hungry-looking sunken eyes. Thus, in most respects, this image of Natarāja resembles the one on the south wall of the *jagamohana* of the Madhukeśvara temple, but it is a poor and lifeless imitation of the latter.

ARDHANARISVARA

The images of Ardhanārīśvara found in the Mukhaliṅgaṁ temples generally confirm to the description given in the *Śilparatna* and the *Āgama* texts of the Śaivites. According to these texts, the right half of the god should represent Śiva and the left half, his consort Pārvatī. Śiva half may have 2, 3, or 4 hands which should show either *abhaya* or *varada* or carry battle axe, trident or rosary. He should be clad with skin garment. The third eye of the god should be depicted on his forehead on the right half. He should wear *jaṭāmukuṭa* adorned with crescent moon, a *kuṇḍala* or *sarpakuṇḍala* and other ornaments. Pārvatī half should have two hands, one of which earrying a *nilotpala* flower or hanging down vertically along the body and the other carrying a mirror or touching the head of the bull. A prominent breast should

be shown on the left half. She should wear a crown or her hair might be arranged in a big knot. She should be well-ornamented.[1]

No. 1. The smaller niche on the right on the south wall of the south-west corner *rekha* of the *jagamohana* in the Madhukeśvara, contains a four-armed image of Ardhanārīśvara standing in *dvibhaṅga*. Three of his hands carry a rosary, a vase and a flower while the lower left rests on the thigh. The right half of the figure stands for Śiva and the left for his wife Pārvatī. From top to the feet the two halves are clearly demarcated. Even in the context of head-dress, one can notice a difference between the two halves, the one on the left being that of a female while the other on the right consisting of *jaṭas* which fall on the right. The ear on the right is ornamented with a *sarpakuṇḍala* and the left with a *patrakuṇḍala*. A prominent breast is carved on the left half while on the right the *membrum virile* is shown erect. The right portion of the lower part of the body is covered with a skin garment upto the knee while the left is closely covered with a garment down to the foot. The god also wears a single-stranded *yajñopavīta* and a *kaṭisūtra*. Nandi, the mount of Śiva, is carved behind him at the bottom with its head turned up and looking at the god. Two attendant male figures are carved one on either side. Both of them stand in charming poses; the right one throwing his right hand around a long trident and the left touching the *yajñopavīta* with his right hand. Ardhanārīśvara figures depicted with *ūrdhvalinga* are peculiar to Bengal and Orissa while they are conspicuous by their absence in south India.

No. 2. The smaller niche on the right on the east wall of the sanctum of the Someśvara, contains an image of four-armed Ardhanārīsvara standing in *tribhaṅga* (Pl.36). The right half of the figure represents Śiva and the left half Pārvatī. The upper right hand holds a trident while the lower one shows *varada*. The left hands carry a mirror (*darpaṇa*) and a flower. The right half wears a *jaṭāmukuṭa* with a crescent moon on it and with locks falling over the right shoulder while on the left the hair is arranged with a big knot at the top. Even the facial contours differ on the two halves. On the left a prominent breast is shown while on the right the *membrum virile* is shown erect. On the right half a third eye is shown on the forehead. The right half of the lower part of the body is scarcely covered except for the short tiger skin, while the left is covered with a garment upto well below the knee with its folds hanging in between the two legs. At the bottom can be seen the bull and the lion, the mounts of Śiva and Pārvatī on the right and left respectively.

No. 3. The central rectangular projection on the lintel of a niche on the south wall of the sanctum of the Someśvara, contains a four-armed image of Ardhanārīśvara standing in *tribhaṅga*. The right half stands for Śiva while the left stands for Śakti. The right hand carrys a rosary and a vase. The upper left carries a flower while the lower one holds an indistinct long object. The right half wears a *jaṭa*-

1. T. A. Gopinatha Rao, *Elements of Hindu Iconography*, Vol. II, Pt. II, Appendix B, pp. 164-168.

mukṭa while the hair on the left is arranged with a big knot at the top. A *sarpakuṇḍala* adorns the right ear and a *patrakuṇḍala* the left. On the left half a prominent breast (now partly damaged) is carved while on the right the *membrum virile* is shown erect. On the right the lower part of the body is covered with a tiger skin garment upto the thighs, while on the left an ordinary garment covers the left leg upto its foot with its folds hanging along the inner side of the leg. Nandi, the mount of Śiva, is carved at the bottom behind the god's legs. Its head is turned back and uplifted to look at the god. A jar is carved at the bottom left. Lion, the mount of Śakti, is conspicuous by its absence. In each of the two top corners a lotus is carved.

GANESA

The image of Gaṇeśa found in the Mukhaliṅgaṁ temples conform to the description given in the *Bṛihatsaṁhitā* and the *Āgama* texts of the Śaivites. According to the former text, Gaṇeśa should be represented as elephant-headed and pot-bellied. He should be two-armed, holding a hatchet in one hand and radish in another. He should have one tooth. The *Āgama* texts, on the other hand, attribute Gaṇeśa with four arms which should hold some of the objects like the sweat-meat, snake, rosary, lotus, elephant goad, broken tusk, etc. These texts add that the god should be accompanied by his mount the mouse.[1]

No. 1. The central niche on the south wall of the south-west corner *rekha* of the *jagamohana* in the Madhukeśvara contains the image of the elephant-headed and pot-bellied Gaṇeśa (Pl. 37). He is four armed and stands in *tribhaṅga*. His hands carry a rosary in the upper right, a broken tusk in the lower right, an axe in the upper left and a cup of sweetmeats in the lower left placed against his hip. He wears a crown and the coiffure is made up of snail-shell curls showing Buddhist infiuence. The probiscus is turned to the right and a serpent goes to form the *udarabanda*. He is elaborately ornamented including a pearl-stringed *yajñopavīta*. Folds of his garment, which covers the lower part of his body upto the knees, hang in between his legs. A scarf is seen tied around his thighs. There is a circular halo round his head. Gaṇeśa here is conspicuous by the absence of his mount the mouse and, therefore, the image has to be assigned to the early medieval period. To the left of Gaṇeśa a boyish-looking figure of Kārttikeya standing and carrying a fruit in his two hands is carved at the bottom. He is almost naked and his hair is arranged in three locks. On the right is found, a half-kneeling figure of a dwarf with his hands holding a jar. His coiffure, like that of Gaṇeśa, is made up of curls. He is also almost naked.

No. 2. The *chaitya* arch at the bottom of the central band on the south face of the tower of the Madhukeśvara, contains an image of elephant-headed and pot-bellied Gaṇeśa seated in *sukhāsana*. He is four-armed and his hands carry a snake with its

1. T.A. Gopinatha Rao, *Elements of Hindu Iconography*, Vol. I, Pt. II, Apdendix C, pp. 1-13.

hood upraised, a broken tusk, an axe and a sweetmeat. The *yajñopavita* and *udarabandha* are formed of snakes and he also wears strings of bells as necklace and wristlets. He is bare-headed except for the fillet above his forehead. There is a halo round his head. Two flying *Vidyadharas* carrying garlands in their hands can be seen one on either side in the two top corners.

No. 3. A rectangular panel on the right pilaster flanking the doorway of the north-west corner shrine in the Madhukeśvara depicts a four-armed image of elephant headed and pot-bellied Gaṇeśa dancing rhythmically. The natural left hand of the god is thrown horizontally to the right with fingers pointing downwards while the additional left hand is thrown down vertically along the body. The natural right hand is held in what appears like *kaṭaka* pose and the upper right hand is at present obscured by the plaster covering it. His forehead bears a third eye on it and the probiscus is turned to left and uplifted. Snakes go to form his waist-girdle and anklets. He also wears jewelled wristlets and *kaṭisūtra*. The coiffure is arranged in small-shell curls, again showing Buddhist influence, and is ornamented with a snake-fillet, a jewelled crescent moon and flowers. The lower part of his body is covered with a designed garment upto his feet and the folds of the drapery hang in between his legs. The mouse, the mount of the god, is conspicuous by its absence.

No. 4. The upper medallion of the *chaitya* arch on the west face of the *śikhara* of the south-east corner shrine in the Madhukeśvara, contains an image of four-armed Gaṇeśa seated in *sukhāsana* on a pedestal. The hands carry a rosary and a radish on the right and a *paraśu* and a cup of sweetmeats on the left. He wears a *jaṭā-mukuṭa* (?) and a triple-stranded *yajñopavīta*. The probiscus of the elephant-headed and pot-bellied god is turned to right. There is an oval halo round his head. The mouse, the mount of the god is conspicuous by its absence. The figure is mostly under plaster.

No. 5. In a niche on the south wall of the *antarāla* of the Bhīmeśvara is carved an image of four-handed Gaṇeśa seated in *sukhāsana* on a pedestal. His hands carry a rosary and a radish on the right and an axe and a cup of sweetmeats on the left. His probiscus is turned to left and is seen lifting the *modakas*. He wears a *jaṭā-mukuṭa*, a necklace and other ornaments. Snakes go to form the sacred thread and armlets. Strings of bells are found as ornaments like necklace and anklets. The mouse, the mount of the god, is carved on the pedestal, and is seen moving left towards a cup of sweetmeats. The halo, usually found round the head of a divine image, is, however, conspicuous by its absence.

No. 6. The central niche on the south wall of the sanctum of the Someśvara, contains an image of the elephant-headed and pot-bellied god Gaṇeśa seated in *sukhāsana* on a double-petalled lotus. He is four-armed and the upper hands hold a radish on the right and a goad on the left. The lower right carries a rosary and at the same time shows *varada* while the tower left carries a bowl of sweatmeats. The probiscus is tutned to the left and is seen lifting the *modakas*. He wears a

jaṭāmukuṭa, strings of bells for necklace and anklets, and serpents for the sacred thread, armlets and wristlets. There is a circular halo round his head. The mouse, the mount of the god, is carved below the seat and is seen moving to the left towards a cup of sweetmeats. In each of the two top corners, a flying *vidyādhara* carrying a garland in his hands can be seen. The strings of bells used as ornaments for the god undoubtedly betray Chālukyan influence. That the influence came from the coastal Andhra region in the South under the rule of the Eastern Chālukyas of Vengi can be known from the close resemblance of this image to the one in the Choḷingeśvara temple at Biccavolu in East Godavari District.[1]

ANDHAKAVADHAMURTI

In the image of Andhakavadhamūrti found in the Madhukeśvara, the Mukhaliṅgaṁ sculptor represented both his form and the Gajāsurasaṁharamurti form of Śiva at the same time. Hence, it does not conform to the descriptions given in the iconographical texts. However, the general features of Śiva are the same as these described in the texts.[2]

No. 1. An image of the ithyphallic and six-armed Andhakavadhamūrti is carved in the lower medallion of the *chaitya* arch above the south doorway of the *jagamohana* in the Madhukeśvara (Pl.35). He is seen moving to the left. The topmost two hands carry an elephant's skin horizontally above his head. The god had just killed the demon Gajāsura and obtained his skin. The head, trunk and legs of the elephant are drooping. The next two hand hold tightly a long trident placed horizontally which pierces through the body of the demon Andhaka killing him instantaneously and thus pinning his body to the three prongs of the trident. The image, thus, at once represents both the Gajasurasaṁhāramūrti and Ahdhakavadhamūrti forms of Śiva. The remaining two hands of the god hold a rosary and a skull (*kapāla*). The god is depicted fierce-looking with protruding eyes and wide-opened mouth. There is a third eye on his forehead. He wears a long garland of skulls, a chain-like *kaṭisūtra* and other ornaments. The tiger skin covers the lower part of his body upto the knees. The figure of nandi, his Mount, it carved in between his legs at the bottom. It stands half-kneeling with its head and tail upraised. On the left, there is a seated figure of the fierce-looking and emaciated, Yogeśvarī. Further to the left is found the figure of Devī seated at ease on a stool. She turns back her head and looks at her lord in wonder and admiration and the latter touches her chin with his right hand. On the bottom row there are a few more figures of attendants and dwarfs one blowing a conch, another standing and holding a trident, a third dancing and so on. At the top can be seen two flying *Vidyādharas* carrying garlands in their hands.

1. C. Sivaramamurti, *Early Eastern Chalukyan Sculpture*, Bulletin of the Madras Govt. Museum, New series, General Section, Vol. VII, No. 2, Pl. XXI.
2. T.A. Gopinatha Rao, *Elements of Hindu Iconography*, Vol. II, Pt. II, Appendix B, pp. 98-100.

Siva and Parvati playing chess

A long panel on the lintel of the south doorway of the *jagamohana* depicts Śiva and Pārvatī playing chess. The four-armed Śiva is seated in *sukhāsana* to the right of the oblong chess board. His top left hand is upraised while the lower left rests on his knee. One of his right hands is placed firmly on the pedestal while the other rests on his leg with upturned plam ready to play another game. The four-armed Pārvatī is seated in *sukhāsana* to the left of the chessboard. In one of her hands she holds pawns and in another a lotus. Another hand of the goddess rests firmly on the seat while her upper right shows *abhaya*. Some of the ornaments and weapons of Śiva which were lost by him in the game are shown at the top of the panel. The panel also depicts the remaining weapons and ornaments being carried away by the attendants of Pārvatī. To the right of Śiva are found three *Śivagaṇas* carrying trident with disappointed faces. To the left of Pārvatī is seen the bull, the mount of Śiva, reluctant and helpless for being pushed and pulled away by the attendants of Pārvatī. It turns back its head and cries in vain for Śiva's help. Further to the left is found the figure of the emaciated goddess Yogeśvarī looking helplessly as Pārvatī's attendants are carrying her away forcibly. The whole panel presents a lively and dramatic scene.

Narasimha

The images of Narasiṁha found in the Mukhaliṅgaṁ temples conform to the description given in the *Vaikhānasāgama*. According to this text, the god should be represented as multi-armed. Two of his hands should be shown in the act of the tearing out the entrails of the demon-king Hiraṇyakaśipu. The remaining hands should hold objects like wheel, conch, club and lotus. The demon-king should be depicted as lying on his back on the left thigh of the god.[1]

No. 1. In a niche on the south wall of the *jagamohana* of the Madhukeśvara lying immediately to the east of the south doorway, is carved the Vaishnavite image of Narasiṁha (Pl.38). The god is represented in therianthropomorphic form with a human body and a lion's head. He stands with the right leg placed firmly on the upturned left foot of a youthful demon who carries a pointed dagger and a staff in his two hands. The god's left leg is raised and rests on the hips of the same demon crushing down the latter's body. The god is four-armed and the uppar hands are poised to strike the demon Hiraṇyakaśipu. The lower hands are engaged in tearing out the entrails of the demon who is lifted and placed horizontally on his back on the god's thighs. The well-armoured and moustached demon carries a sword in his right hand while the left holds a waist cloth. The legs, hands, and the coiled hair of the dying demon are drooping. The god is fierce-looking with protruding eyes, open mouth and drawn-out tongue. His curled manes fall to the sides on his shoulders.

1. T.A. Gopinatha Rao, *Elements of Hindu Iconography*, Vol. I, Pt. II, Appendix C, pp. 32-36.

No. 2. On the lintal of the doorway of the north-east corner shrine in the Madhukeśvara is found the image of lion-headed and two-armed Narasiṁha. He is shown standing with his legs bent forward to the right so as to plaee the demon king Hiraṇyakaśipu on his thighs. With his two hands, the god is seen tearing out the entrails of the demon. Except for the wristlets, the god wears no other ornaments. An interesting feature is that the coiffure of the god is made up of snail-shell curls usually found in the case of the images of the Buddha. The demon king Hiraṇyakaśipu, resting on the thighs of the god, is seen writhing under instense pain. His face presents a fearful and pathetic appearance in the presence of the omnipotent god. He holds a sword in his left hand and a waist cloth in his right hand. The lower part of his body is covered with a designed garment upto his knees.

No. 3. The niche on the west wall of the sanctum of the Bhīmeśvara, contains an image of the Vaishnavite deity Narasiṁha. The four-armed god is seen standing with his right leg placed firmly on the ground and the ieft leg placed on the back of a crouching demon at the bottom. The demon is fierce-looking with protruding eyes and bare teeth. The upper hands of the god carry a wheel showing *Svastika* and a conch while the lower hands are seen tearing out the entrails of the demon-king Hlraṇyakaśipu who is placed on his back on the left thigh of the god. The objects in the upper hands are carried in a particular pose known as *kartarīmukha* which is usually found in the Tamil region. The lower part of his body is covered with a special type of thick garment upto the thighs. The head, hair, hands and legs of the demon-king are drooping. The stylised lion-head of the god is fierce-looking with protrudiug eyes, bare teeth and with the tongue drawn out of the wide open mouth. There is a scarf tied round his waist with its ends flying to the right. He is elaborately ornamented with jewelled necklaces, triple-stranded *yajñopavīta*, waist girdle, jewelled *kaṭisūtra*, armlets, wristlets and anklets. There ls a circular halo round his head. The panel at the bottom shows a pillar in the centre and Hiraṇyakaśipu standing to its left is seen striking it with a sword. The youthful Prahlāda, the son of the demon-king, stands to the left of his father. On the extreme left the Man-Lion appears from the broken pillar. On the right can be seen the broken pillar and the figures of god lifting the demon on either side of it.

No. 4. The lower medallion of the *chaitya* arch on the west face of the tower of the Bhīmeśvara contains on image of Narasiṁha. In most respects this image resembles the one found in the niches on the west wall of the sanctum. However, the following differences may be noted in this case. The object carried in the upper right hand is not distinct and it is not certainly *Svastika* symbol. There is no crouching demon at the bottom. Nor there is any panel below representing the story of the Narasiṁhavatāra.

GANGADHARAMURTI

The images of Gaṅgādharamūrti found in the Mukhaliṅgaṁ temples partly conform to the description given in the *Āgama* texts of the Saivites like *Aṁśumad-*

bhedāgama, *Kāmīkāgama* and *Kārṇāgama*. As stated in these texts, in the Mukhaliṅgaṁ images also the god is depicted as four-armed, one of his left hands stretching out a *jaṭā* from his hair to release Ganga. Ganga is carved above the *jaṭa*. The sage Bhagiratha can also be found to the left of the god. However, the Mukhaliṅgaṁ images of the god do not conform to the rest of the description given in the texts.[1]

No. 1. A niche on the south wall of the *jagamohana* in the Madhukeśvara contains an image of the four-armed and ithyphallic god Gangādharamūrti.[2] He stands on a pedestal in a *tribhaṅga* pose. The upper right and the lower left carry a rosary and a vase respectively while the lower right shows *varada* with a lotus carved on its upturned palm. The natural left hand stretches out a coil from his *jaṭā* to release Ganga pent up in the locks. She is carved in the top left corner flying with uplifted legs and carrying a garland in her hands. A serpent with its hood raised is found above the right shoulder of the god. The forehead of the god bears a third eye. He wears a *jaṭāmukuṭa* with the side locks falling, a pearl-stringed *yajñopavīta* and other ornaments. Two crescent moons adorn his *jaṭāmukuṭa*. He is depicted almost naked except for the short skin garment which covers the lower part of his body upto well above the knees. There is an oval halo round his head. On the left at the bottom is found the figure of Ganga who stands in a graceful pose on her mount crocodile after being released from the locks of Śiva's *jaṭā*. The lower part of her body is covered with a garment down to her feet and her face is now damaged. There is a kneeling male figure, probably standing for Bhagiratha who prayed for Ganga's release, at the bottom to the right of the god with his hands in *añjali* carrying a lotus.

No. 2. A niche on the south wall of the sanctum of the Someśvara, contains an image of four-armed Gangādharamūrti standing in *dvibhaṅga*. His left hands hold a trident and a vase while the lower right shows *varada*. The upper right stretches out a lock from his *jaṭā* to release Ganga from the locks of his hair. Ganga, after being released, is seen seated with her hands in *añjali* in the top right corner. The god wears a *jaṭāmukuṭa* with a crescent moon on it, a pearl-stringed *yajñopavīta*, and other ornaments. The lower part of his body is covered with a short tiger skin garment and his *membrum virile* is shown erect. On the right at the bottom a bearded sage standing for Bhagiratha can be seen kneeling and praying with hands in *añjali*. At the bottom on the left is carved Ganga standing in a graceful pose on her mount crocodile and ready to go down to the earth along with Bhagiratha. This image closely resembles the one in the Madhukeśvara temple noticed earlier.

VARAHA

The image of Varāha found in the Madhukeśvara corresponds to the description given in the *Vaikhānasāgama* and the *Śilparatna*. According to the former the god

1. T.A. Gopinatha Rao, *Elements of Hindu Iconography*, Vol. II, Pt. II, Appendix B, pp. 161-63.
2. M. Rama Rao wrongly identified this image as Bhikshāṭanamurti. (*Jour. of Ind. Hist.*, Vol. XLII, April, 1964. pp. 158-159).

should be represented in half-man and half-boar form. The *Śilparatna* adds that the god should hold wheel and club in his hands. It further states that one of the feet of the god should rest on the serpent-king and the goddess may be represented as sitting on the left elbow of the god. The representation of the Nāga king in the Mukhaliṅgaṁ image corresponds to the description given in the *Vishṇudharmottara*. According to this text, the face of the serpent-king is slightly raised so as to look at the god and his hands should be held in *añjali*.[1]

In a niche on the south wall of the *jagamohana* in the Madhukeśvara, the Vaishnavite image of four-armed Varāha is depicted. The god stands with his feet firmly placed on the serpentine body of the Nāga, the king of the nether world, crushing the latter. Two of his hands carry a club on the right and a wheel on the left. The two natural hands are bent inwards with fingers interlocked in front of his chest so as to support Bhū on his left elbow. The goddess Bhū, rescued from the underworld, is seen seated cross-legged on a pedestal. She looks happily at the god in gratitude for the help rendered by him. The god is represented in therianthropomorphic form with human body and boar's head. The head is slightly lifted up with the mouth wide open. He is elaborately ornamented and the lower part of his body is covered with a garment upto his knees with ~~its~~ folds hanging in between his legs. The waist cloth is tied round his thighs with the ends hanging on the right. The nāga king, like Varāha, is depicted in therianthropomorphic form with the lower part of his body being serpentine and the upper part human. He is canopied under a single-hooded snake and is seen praying for the god's grace with his hands in *añjali*. The winged Garuḍa, the mount of the god, is carved on the left pilaster and is seen attacking the serpent king. A standing male holding a conch in his right hand (Śaṅkhapurusha ?) is found on the right pilaster.

DURGA

The images of Durgā found in the Mukhaliṅgaṁ temples generally conform to the description given in the *Āgama* texts of the Śaivites. According to these texts, the goddess should be represented as three-eyed and having 4, 8 or more hands. She should wear a crown and many other ornaments and be seated on the back of her mount, the lion. The *Suprabhedāgama* gives the description of an eight-armed figure of the goddess and states that her hands should hold conch, wheel, trident, bow, arrow, sword, noose and *khetaka* flower.[2]

No. 1. A niche on the south wall of the *jagamohana* in the Madhukeśvara, contains an image of eight-armed Durgā standing on a double-petalled lotus in *samabhaṅga*. Her hands carry a club, a sword, *a vajra*, a trident, a wheel, a bell and others. The slim figure is adorned with the usual ornaments and her forehead bears a third eye. The lower part of her body is covered with a garment down to her feet. The lion, the

1. T.A. Gopinatha Rao, *Elements of Hindu Iconography*, Vol. I, Pt. II, Appendix C, pp. 29-32.
2. *Ibid.*, pp. 105-109.

mount of the goddess, is carved behind her legs at the bottom and its head, with the curled manes falling over the body, faces front. Following the placid-looking goddess, the lion obediently places its front jaws crossed against its chest. Two female attendants, each of them holding a *chauri* in her right hand, are found at the bottom standing on either side of the goddess.

No. 2. The lower medallion of the *chaitya* arch on the north face of the tower of the Madhukeśvara, contains an image of four-armed Durgā. Two of her hands carry indistinct objects. The upper right holds a trident piercing it through the flesh of the demon who is seen crawling at the bottom. The lower left pulls up the hair of another demon who comes out of the body of the demon at the bottom. The goddess is depicted fierce-looking with protruding eyes. The slim and elongated body, the extremely narrow waist and the prominent breasts go to characterise the elegant figure of the goddess. Two male attendants, one on either side can be seen standing at the bottom. Two flying *Vidyādharas* carrying garlands in their hands are found one on either side in the two top corners.

No. 3. The upper medallion of the above *chaitya* arch contains a six-armed image of Durgā standing and attacking the demon. Two of her hands carry a sword and a bow while a third holds an indistinct object. The upper left hand is broken. The lower right holds tightly a trident which pierces through the body of the demon while the lower left pulls up the demon's hair. The demon is seen crawling at the bottom with the left hand holding a sword; another sword hanging from his waist at the back. The coiffure of the goddess is arranged with a heavy knot at the top.

No. 4. Carved on a slab and found in the sanctum of the *khakhara* shrine on the north *prākāra* wall of the Madhukeśvara, is the image of an eight-armed Durgā seated in *lalitākshepa* on a double-petalled lotus. Three of her right hands carry an arrow, a sword and a wheel and the natural right shows *varada*. Her left hands carry a shield, a bow, a long trident and a bell. There is an oval halo round her head. Her face is now damaged but her hair is arranged with a heavy knot at the top. There are two lotuses carved in the two top corners. At the bottom of the panel can be noticed the figure of a lion, the vehicle of the goddess and its tail uplifted. Another four-handed goddess carrying a trident in one of her left hands and seated in *ardha-paryaṅka* on a lotus is carved at the bottom of the panel.

No. 5. On the lintel of the doorway of the east *prākāra* wall in the Madhukeśvara, is found an image of ten-armed Durgā seated in *ardhaparyaṅka* on her mount lion. Four of her right hands carry a trident, a club, a rosary and an indistinct object while the natural right shows *varada*. The left hands hold a thunderbolt, a wheel, a vase, a bell and an indistinct object. Her face is turned slightly to the left. With downcast eyes, she seems to bid farewell to the pilgrims.[1] The lower part of her body is covered

1. The local people believe that the goddess Durga is guarding a treasure hidden in the ground below.

with a loose garment upto the left knee and down to the right foot. She wears a *jaṭāmukuṭa* (?), a necklace, a long necklace falling beautifully in between the bulging breasts, jewelled armlets, wristlets and anklets. There is an oval halo round her head. The sedent lion turns her head to face front.

No. 6. The niche at the bottom of the *chaitya* arch on the north face of the *śikhara* of the Someśvara, contains a four-armed image of Durgā seated in *ardhaparyaṅka* on a raised seat. The upper hands carry a rosary on the right and a trident (partly broken) on the left. The lower left hand resting on the knee shows *varada* while the lower right holds the neck of a jar. She wears the usual ornaments and there is a circular halo round her head. The lion, the mount of the goddess, is carved below the seat. It is roaring with its head uplifted. In each of the two corners are found a flying *vidyādhara* figure carrying a garland in his hands.

YAMUNA

The figures of Ganga and Yamuna, the river goddesses represented in anthropomorphic form made their appearance for the first time on the door-jambs of the Gupta temples. This tradition reached Mukhaliṅgaṁ *via* Orissa. Ganga and Yamuna are usually seen standing on and can be recognised by their respective mounts, namely, crocodile and tortoise.

No. 1. A niche on the east wall of the *jagamohana* of the Madhukeśvara lying immediately to the south of the doorway, contains a figure of the river-goddess Yamuna standing cross-legged on her mount the tortoise (*kūrma*) in a graceful pose in *tribhaṅga*. The left hand rests elegantly on her thigh while the right hand is bent at the elbow and thrown across the waist carrying a lotus flower by its stalk. She wears a necklace, another long necklace, a pearl-stringed *kaṭisūtra* and other jewelled ornaments. The coiffure is arranged with a heavy knot at the back and is ornamented with three lotuses and a fillet. The lower part of her body is covered with a well-designed garment down to her feet and its vertical folds hang in between her legs. The scarf passes over her arms and round the back of her waist with the ends falling on either side. There is a circular halo round her head. A female attendant is seen standing elegantly on a fish to the right of Yamuna and she holds a parasol in her hands over the head of the goddess, To the left of the goddess at the bottom stands a youthful dwarf looking in admiration at the goddess with his head raised and the right hand clasping the necklace. He holds flowers in his left hand and wears a tight garment covering the lower part of his body upto well above the knees with his *membrum virile* clearly marked. The presence of water is indicated at the bottom by horizontally marked flowing lines. In the top right corner are found two ducks holding a garland.

No. 2. A niche to the right of the doorway of the sanctum in the Someśvara, contains an image of the river-goddess Yamuna standing elegantly in *tribhaṅga* on the back of her mount tortoise. Her left hand carries a vase while the right is placed

on her thigh. The dress and ornaments of this goddess resemble those of Ganga. Two female attendants are seen standing at the bottom, the one on the right holding a long parasol over the head of the goddess and that on the left holds two bags (which hang on her back) in her left hand and an indistinct object in her upraised right hand. In each of the two top corners is found two flying peacocks carrying a garland.

Ganga

No. 1. A niche on the east wall of the *jagamohana* in the Madhukeśvara lying immediately to the left of the doorway, contains an image of the river-goddess Ganga standing in an elegant pose on her mount the crocodile—*Makara* (Pl.39). She holds delicately a full-blown louts in her right hand and admires its natural beauty and rests her left elbow on the right shoulder of the female attendant gracefully standing cross-legged on a fish to the left of the goddess. She wears a necklace and another long necklace, the latter falling in between her round breasts and connected to another ornament around her waist. She also wears a pearl-stringed *kaṭisūtra* and other jewelled ornaments. The coiffure is arranged with a heavy knot at the back and is ornamented with lotuses and a fillet. The lower part of her body is covered with a garment down to her feet, The scarf passes over her right arm, with the ends falling. The female attendant on the left holds a *chauri*, the top portion of which is now missing, over the head of the goddess. The presence of water at the bottom is indicated by horizontally marked flowing lines. At the bottom on the right stands a youthful dwarf who slightly raises his head to look at the goddess and holds in his right hand a branch from which flowers and fruits hang on his back. The figure of the dwarf is partly broken.

No. 2. A niche on the west wall of the sanctum of the Someśvara lying to the left of the doorway, contains a graceful figure of Ganga standing in *tribhaṅga* on her mount crocodile. She carries a vase in her right hand while the left is placed elegantly on her thigh. The hair is well-combed and is arranged with a heavy knot at the back above her left shoulders. She wears *kuṇḍalas*, a necklace, a *kaṭisūtra*, three bangles as wristlets, jewelled armlets and beaded anklets. She also wears a pearl-stringed *yajñopavīta* and the lower part of her body is covered with a garment upto well below the knees. The folds of the drapery hang in between her legs while the ends of a scarf fly on the left. The smile lurking on her lips exhibit the fresh fragrance of a blossoming flower. The nose, breasts and lips of the figure are partly damaged. The female attendants are seen standing one on either side, the left holding a parasol over the head of the goddess and that on the right holding in her hands a heavy bag hanging on her back. In the top left corner is found a male seated and carrying a vase in the left hand and an indistinct object in the right hand. He may stand for the king of the Oceans. The flowing horizontal outlines carved at the bottom indicate that the person is seated on water and, therefore, we may surmise that he is the king of the Oceans welcoming the river-goddess Ganga.

LAKULISA

Lakulīśa is regarded as the systematiser of the Pāśupata Śaiva cult and is said to have been born at Kāyāvarohaṇa (Karvan in Gujarat) sometime between A.D. 75 and 125. As Pāśupata Śaivism reached Mukhaliṅgaṁ *via* Orissa, the images of Lakulīśa found on the Mukhaliṅgaṁ temples resemble those found at Bhubanesvar. Lakulīśa can be identified by the presence of *lakuṭa* (club) which he always holds in one of his hand. Sometimes he is accompanied by his four principal disciples named Kuśika, Mitra, Garga and Kaurusya. Lakulīśa is regarded by his followers as an incarnation of Śiva.

No. 1. The *chaitya* arch on the south face of the tower of the Madhukeśvara, contains an image of two-armed Lakulīśa in its upper medallion. He is seated cross-legged on a pedestal placed on a lotus. His knees are upraised and held by a *yogapaṭṭa* tied around them. His left hand is thrown round a staff which rests on his left shoulder and touches the *yajñopavīta*. The right hand shows *vyākhyāna-mudra*. Like Śiva, Lakulīśa also is wearing a *jāṭamukuṭa*. His four disciples are seen seated two on either side at the bottom. In the top right corner a flying *Vidyādhara* can be seen carrying a garland. Outside the medallion also are found a few figures of bearded sages.

No. 2. The lower medallion of the *chaitya* arch on the east face of the tower of the south-west corner shrine in the Madhukeśvara, contains an image of two armed Lakulīśa, the systematiser of the Pāśupata cult. He is seated in what is known as *vaddapadmāsana* on a double-petalled lotus. His two hands show *dharmachakra-pravartana mudra*. The club, the attribute of the ascetic teacher, rests on his left shoulder and is encircled by the left hand. There is an oval halo round his head. The coiffure at the top is tied by a jewelled fillet. He wears a necklace, jewelled armlets, wristlets and anklets, and a single-stranded *yajnopavīta*. The four immediate disciples of Lakulīśa are found seated two on either side. The upper two of them are seen seated on raised lotuses on either side. All of them turn their faces slightly upwards to look at their master.

No. 3. The upper medallion of the *chaitya* arch at the bottom of the central band on the south face of the tower of the Bhīmeśvāra, contains an image of the Pāśupata teacher Lakulīśa seated on a pedestal. He is seated in *yogāsana* with the two hands holding a club which rests on his left shoulder. At the bottom are seen his four disciples, partly covered under plaster, seated two on either side with their heads slightly raised towards their ascetic teacher. The two disciples on the right are bearded.

No. 4. The smaller niche on the south wall of the sanctum of the Someśvara, contains an image of the Pāśupata ascetic teacher Lakulīśa seated in *vaddhapadmāsana*

on a double-pe'alled lotus[1] (Pl. 40). He is four-armed and his images of this variety are vary rare in occurrence.[2] His upper hands carry a rosary and a trident while the lower ones are held in front showing *dharmachakrapravarttana mudra*. He wears a *jaṭāmukuṭa*, a beaded necklace, a double-stranded *yajñopavīta* and other ornaments. There is a third eye on the forehead and the *membrum virile* is shown erect. The half closed eyes and the meditative face admirably suit the *yogic* posture. The staff (*lakuṭa*) rests on his left shoulder and is encircled by his left hand. The *jaṭamukuṭa*, the third eye on the forehead, and the ithyphallic nature of representation suggest that the artist intended to depict him as an incarnation of Śiva. In this respect and in the addition of two more hands, this image closely resembles the one recovered from the Bhairava temple near Bhubanesvar. In the top right corner is found a flying *vidyādhara* carrying a garland in his hands.

BHIKSHATANAMURTI

The image of Bhikshātanamūrti found in the Madhukeśvara partly corresponds to the description given in the *Śilparatna* and the *Āgama* texts of the Śaivites. According to these texts, the god should have four hands, three of which carrying a skull or bowl, *ḍamaru*, a trident and an arrow or stick. He should be depicted as walking. He should be wearing *jāṭamukuṭa* and ornamented with a crescent moon, *yajñopavīta* and *kuṇḍalas*. He should be surrounded by a number of women vying with one agother to embrace him and whose garments, because of their lust for the god, are found to be slipping down.[3]

The upper medallion of the *chaitya* arch on east face of the tower of the Madhukeśvara, contains an image of the youth Bhikshātanamūrti. Śiva is seen standing in the centre and carrying a long object in his right hand placed at *kaṭi*. The left hand carries a begging bowl and is seen extended to left to receive alms from Pārvatī. The god is depicted nude and ithyphallic and his forehead bears a third eye. The hair is arranged in *jaṭas* with the ornaments to hold the hair tightly. He wears a double-stranded *yajñopavīta* and other ornaments. The deer which usually accompanies this god is conspicuous by its absence here. Pārvatī carved on the left is seen advancing to the right to offer alms to the god. Carved above, in a panel, are an amorous couple who livingly embrace each other. In addition, five more female figures can be found. They are seen looking at the divine couple, holding the slipping garments tightly.

1. M. Rama Rao wrongly identified this image as Vyākhyāna Dakshiṇamūrti, *Jour. of Ind. Hist.*, Vol. XLII, April, 1964, p. 166.
2. There is another image of four-handed Lakulīśa recovered from the ruins of the Bhairava temple near Bhubanesvar, which K.C. Panigrahi regards as "unique" and "the only instance" of that variety (*Archaeological Remains at Bhubaneswar*, p. 135). However, another image of Lakulīśa of the four-handed variety is also found in the Śiśiresvara temple at Bhubaneswar (*Ibid.*, Fig. 20).
3. T.A. Gopinatha Rao, *Elements of Hindu Iconography*, Vol. II, Pt. II. Appendix B, pp. 154-157.

Planet slabs

No. 1. The lintel of the doorway of the south-east corner shrine in the Madhukeśvara contains images of eight planets beginning with Sun and ending with Rāhu. The ninth planet Ketu is conspicuous by its absence. While Sūrya (Sun) holds full-blown lotuses in his hands, each of the next six, namely Soma (moon), Maṅgala (Mars), Budha (Mercury), Bṛihaspati (Jupiter), Śukra (Venus) and Śani (Saturn), holds a rosary in the right hand and a vase in the left. Rāhu, carved in half-bust from, is fierce-looking. He is bearded and moustached and extends forward his palms. The first seven are seated in *padmāsana*. The first three wear jewelled bands for *yajñopavīta* while the next four have triple-stranded *yajnopavītas*. The presence of only eight planets, instead of nine, places the temple in a period not later than 9th century A.D.

No. 2. On the lintel of the doorway of the *garbhagṛiha* of the Someśvara temple are carved the Nine Planets in a row. The first eight resembles those found on one of the corner shrines in the Madhukeśvara temple described above. However, here the ninth planet Ketu is added, He is seen seated at ease on a stool and holds an indistinct object in his hands placed in front of his chest. He is nude with a skeleton-framed body and a shrunken belly. The flames emitted by his body at the top form a *prābhāvali* round his head. On the basis of the addition of the ninth planet, the date of the temple can be placed in 11th century A.D.

Saptamatrikas

According to the *Āgama* texts of the Śaivites, the Saptamātṛikas are Brahmāṇī, Vaishnavī, Indrāṇī, Chāmuṇḍā, Maheśvarī, Kaumārī and Vārāhī.

The figures of the Saptamātṛikas found in the Madhukeśvara partly correspond to the descriptions given in the *Amśumadbhedāgama*, the *Pūrva-Kāraṇāgama* and the *Devī Purāṇa*. According to these texts, all should be represented as seated and four-armed and accompanied by their respective mounts. However, in the objects held in their hands, they do not conform to any single text.[1]

No. 1. On the doorway of the *garbhagṛiha* of the *khakhara* shrine on the north *prākāra* wall, are carved the figures of Saptamātṛikas, namely Brahmāṇī, Maheśvarī, Kaumārī, Vaishnavī, Vārāhī, Indrāṇī and Chāmuṇḍā, accompanied here by Ganeśa. The four-faced Brahmāṇī (the fourth face, being at the back, cannot be seen) is seated in *ardhaparyaṅka* on a stool. She is four-armed and three of her hands carry a lotus, a sacrificial laddle, and a vase while the lower right shows *varada*. There is a circular halo round her head. The swan, the mount of the goddess, is carved at the bottom and is seen eating a fish. The four-armed Maheśvarī is seen seated in *ardhaparyaṅka* on a stool. Three of her hands carry a flower, a trident and a vase

1. T. A. Gopinatha Rao, *Elements of Hindu Iconography*, Vol. II, Pt. II, Appendix B, pp. 164-168.

while the natural right shows *varada*. There is a circular halo round her head. Her mount, the bull, is carved at the bottom. Kaumārī is also seen seated in *lalitākshepa* on a stool. She is four-armed and her hands carry a flower, a spear, a bell (*ghaṇta*) and a vase. The hair is arranged in the *śikhaṇḍaka* mode in three locks. There is an elliptical halo round her head. The peacock, the mount of the goddess, is found below her seat. The four-armed Vaishnavi is seated in *ardhaparyaṅka* on a stool. She carries a wheel, a club and a vase in three of her hands while the lower right shows *varada*. There is an elliptical halo round her head. Her mount Garuḍa is shown at the bottom. The fierce-looking and boar-headed Vārāhi is seen seated in *sukhāsana* on a stool. She is four-armed and carries a skull and three indistinct objects in her hands. There is an elliptical halo round her head. Her mount buffalo is carved below her seat. The two tusks and the coiled locks of hair raising upwards enhance her terrific nature. The four-armed Indrāṇī is seated in *lalitākshepa* on a stool. Three of her hands carry a thunderbolt, an *ankuśa* and an indistinct object while the natural right shows *varada*. The elephant, the mount of the goddess, is found beneath her seat with its trunk uplifted. The figure of the emaciated goddess Chāmuṇḍā is damaged except for the fierce-looking face. The four-armed elephant-headed Gaṇeśa is seen seated in *sukhāsana* on a stool. His right hands carry a radish and a rosary and the lower left a cup of sweetmeats while the upper carries an indistinct object. His probiscus is turned to left and is seen lifting the *modakas* from the cup. He wears a *jaṭāmukuṭa* and a snake forms the sacred thread. His mount mouse is carved below his seat.

No. 2. A frieze below the niche containing the image of Mahishāsuramardini on the north wall of the sanctum of the Someśvara, depicts a fight between the Saptamātṛikas and a demon probably Nirrita.[1] In the centre is seen the six-armed Chāmuṇḍā attacking the demon. Her left foot is placed firmly on the left leg of the crouching demon. She carries weapons like sword and trident. The trident held tightly in two of her hands is seen piercing through the flesh of the demon. The goddess is depicted with emaciated body and shrunken belly and her fierceful nature is further accentuated by the long garland of skulls adorning her body. The crouching demon is trying in vain to raise the fore part of his body to escape from the attack of the goddess. He carries a sword in his right hand and a shield and a trident in his left hand. There is a tree to his left. On the right can be noticed Maheśvarī, Brahmāṇī, and Kaumārī helping Chāmuṇḍā in her fight against the demon. On the left are found Vaishnavī, Vārāhī, and Indrāṇī attacking the demon. The respective mounts of the Saptamātṛikas are carved in another narrow frieze below.

CHAMUNDA

The figures of Chāmuṇḍā found in the Mukhaliṅgaṁ temples correspond to the description given in the *Vishṇudharmottara* and the Śaiva *Āgamas*. According to

1. According to *Suprābhedāgama*, the Saptamātrikas were created by Brahma for the purpose of killing Nirrita (T.A. Gopinatha Rao, *Elements of Hindu Iconography*, Vol. I, Pt. II, pp. 382-383).

these texts she should have many hands which should hold objects like *musala*, shield, arrow, goad, sword, noose, bow, hatchet, *daṇḍa* and and *khetaka* flower. She should have dishevelled hair, lean breasts and flabby belly. She should also wear a garland of skulls.[1]

No. 1. In the north-east corner on the inside of the east wall of the porch of the *khakhara* shrine on the north *prākāra* wall of the Madhukeśvara, an image of eight-armed Chāmuṇḍā seated in *sukhāsana* is carved. The right hands carry *ḍamaru*, trident, bell and skull while the left hold sword, conch, skull and bell. The sword is held horizontally behind her head. She has a big head, fierce-looking face with protruding eyes, bare teeth and witb two fangs coming out of her mouth. Her hair is arranged in *jaṭās* raising upwards. She is seen with an emaciated body, long distended ears, shrunken belly and lean, falling breasts. Her legs are short and the lower part of her body is covered with a thick designed garment upto the thighs. She wears a long garland of skulls enhancing her terrific nature. Her mount the corpse, however, is conspicuous by its absence.

No. 2. Following the terrific form of the god (Ekapādamūrti) represented in the niche below, a figure of the emaciated goddess Chāmuṇḍā is carved above in a rectangular panel on the lintel of the above niche on the north wall of the Someśvara. She is seen seated in *sukhāsana* on a double-petalled lotus placed on her mount, corpse. She is eight-armed and her hands hold a number of weapons including a sword on the right and a long trident on the left. She is fierce-looking with sunken eyes and bare teeth. She is depicted in skeleton form with shrunken belly and lean falling breasts. Her hair is arranged with a big knot at the top with raising coiled locks.

BRAHMA

The figure of Brahmā, found in the Bhimeśvara conforms to the description given in the *Rūpamaṇḍana* and the Śaiva *Āgamas*. In these texts as many as six types of the four-armed variety of the images of Brahmā are given. It is stated in the texts that Brahmā should have four heads and should wear *yajñopavīta, kaṭisūtra* and other ornaments. He should be clad in white garments.[2]

The niche on the north wall of the sanctum contains an image of four-armed and three-faced Brahmā standing in *samabhaṅga*. Three of his hands carry a rosary, a noose (*pāśa*) and a vase while the lower right is broken. He wears a jewelled necklace, armlets and wristlets. The *kaṭisūtra* is decorated with a *kīrtimukha* design in front. The anklets are formed of strings of bells. He also wears a banded *yajñopavīta* and another triple-stranded one. The lower part of his body is covered

1. T.A. Gopinatha Rao, *Elements of Hindu Iconography*, Vol. I, Pt. II, Appendix C, pp. 124, 151-152.
2. *Ibid.*, Vol. II, Pt. II, Appendix B, pp. 243-247.

upto well above the feet with a garment with its folds overlapping, while the folds of another garment are seen hanging on either side of the shoulders. Each of his three heads is adorned with a crown.

GAJALAKSHMI

The figure of Gajalakshmi found in the Someśvara partly corresponds to the description given in the *Vishṇudharmottara*. According to this text, the goddess should be depicted as two-armed and seated on a lotus. She should hold a lotus in each of her hands. On either side of the goddess should be found an elephant emptying water. Two maidens, one on either side, should be standing and carrying water in a pot.[1]

Immediately below the row of the Nine Planets on the lintel of the doorway of the Someśvara, is found the figure of Gajalakshmi seated in *padmāsana* on a double-petalled lotus. Her right hand rests on her knee and shows *varada* while the left holds a full-blown lotus by its stalk. The hair of the goddess is arranged with a big knot at the top and is ornamented with a fillet (or small crown) above the forehead. She wears a necklace, armlets, wristlets, anklets and a beaded *yajñopavīta*. There is a circular halo round her head. Two female attendants, each holding a *chauri*, are seen standing one on either side of the goddess. In the two top corners are carved the figures of two elephants facing each other and each standing on a lotus and holding another lotus in the upraised trunk over the head of the goddess.

PARVATI

No. 1. In a panel above the niche containing the image of Mahishāsuramardini on the north wall of the sanctum of the Someśvara, is found a figure of four-armed Pārvatī seated in *sukhāsana* on a double-petalled lotus. The upper hands hold a trident on the left and a rosary on the right. The lower hands rest on knees with palms turned to face front. She wears a beaded necklace, a double-stranded *yajñopavīta* and other ornaments. There is a circular halo round her head. In the top right corner a lotus is carved in half. The hair is secured in a big knot at the top with a beaded ornament tied round it. There is a fillet above the forehead to hold the hair. A scarf passes round her back and waist and over the left breast.

No. 2. The oblong panel above the niche containing the image of Harihara on the east wall of the sanctum of the Someśvara, represents the figure of four-armed Pārvatī seated in *lalitākshepa* on a double-petalled lotus. Three of her hands hold a rosary, a *khetaka* flower and a vase while the lower right shows *varada*. The elegant figure with a sweet expression on its face wears simple ornaments including a beaded *yajñopavīta*. A lotus is carved in the top right corner. The lower part of the body

1. T.A. Gopinatha Rao, *Elements of Hindu Iconography*, Vol. I, Pt. II, Appendix C, pp. 133-135.

is carved with a garment upto well below the knees. A scarf passes round her back and from under the right arm pit and covers the left breast.

SARASVATI

The figure of Sarasvati found at Mukhaliṅgaṁ partly corresponds to the description given in the iconographic texts like *Vishṇudharmottara*, *Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa* and *Aṁśumadbhedāgama*.[1] Whereas these texts prescribe only four hands to the goddess, the Mukhaliṅgaṁ image has as many as eight hands. According to the texts, the goddess should be seated on a white lotus and hold in her hands objects like rosary, book, white lotus, vase, *vīṇā* and goad. The *Aṁśumadbhedāgama* states that one of the hands of the goddess should show *vyākhyānamudra* while expounding the doctrines to the sages sitting around her.

The central panel above the niche containing the image of Gaṇeśa on the south wall of the sanctum of the Someśvara, depicts an image of eight-armed Sarasvati seated in *sukhāsana* on a double-petalled lotus. Two of her right hands hold a white lotus and a manuscript and the third shows *varada.* Two of her left hands hold indistinct objects while the third carries a vase. She is seen playing on a *vīṇā* held in her two natural hands. The lion, the mount of the goddess, is carved at the bottom left.

BHRINGISVARA

A niche on the south wall of the north-west corner shrine in the Madhukeśvara, contains an image of three-legged Bhṛiṅgīśvara.[1] He is four-armed and stands with the left leg slightly bent forward and the third leg shown in between the two natural ones. The upper right and left hands carry a *paraśu* and a trident respectively. The lower left hand rests on the head of a male on the left and the lower right, now broken, probably rested on the head of the male on the right. There is an oval halo round his head and a third eye on the forehead. He is bearded and the eyebrows are well-marked. He wears a *jaṭamukuṭa* with two crescent moons ornamenting it and the locks of his *jaṭās* fly to the sides and fall over his shoulders. The face and right hip of the figure are partly damaged. There are four males at the bottom, two on either side. They are represented with emaciated figure, shrunken belly and well-marked ribs. Three of them are standing while the lower one on the right is kneeling. The hands of the latter, now broken, probably showed *añjali.* The upper males hold their hands in *añjali* carrying indistinct objects (flowers ?). The hands of the lower male on the left are held crossed against his chest.

EKAMUKHALINGA

The Śiva *lingas* may be broadly classified into two groups—(1) *Svayambhū lingas* and (2) *Manusha* or man-made *lingas.* The *Mukhalinga* is one of the varieties of

1. T.A. Gopinarha Rao, *Elements of Hindu Iconography*, Vol. I, Pt. II, Appendix C, pp. 136-138.

Manusha lingas. The *Ekamukhalinga* is one among the different types of *Mukhalingas* and is so named because of the presence of a single face on the Śiva *linga*. According to the *Āgama* and *Tantra* works, the *Ekamukhalinga* should be installed when the central shrine has only one doorway which faces east and the only face of Śiva should be carved on the linga facing the doorway.[1]

As the central deity in the sanctum of the *piḍha deul* to the south of the north-east corner shrine in the Madhukeśvara, is found a stone *linga* with the head of Śiva carved on its front. He wears a *jaṭāmukuṭa*. The surface of the figure is damaged.

MALE DEITIES

No. 1. In the smaller niche to the right on the north wall of the north-east corner *rekha* of the *jagamohana* in the Madhukeśvara, is carved the standing figure of a four-armed male deity. The upper hands carry a trident and a *vajra* (?) while the lower left holds the tassels of his waist cloth. The lower right is broken. He wears a *jaṭāmukuṭa*, a long *yajñopavīta* and other ornaments. The *chaitya* arch at the bottom of the central band on the north face of the tower of the above shrine contains the bust of a four-armed male deity. His upper right and lower left hands carry a trident and a water pot while the objects in the two remaining hands are indistinct. He wears a *jaṭāmukuta*, a necklace, an *udarabandha*, and a triple-stranded *yajñopavīta*.

No. 2. The smaller niche to the right on the south wall of the south-east corner shrine of the *jagamohana* in the Madhukeśvara, contains an image of a two-armed male deity. He is short and stocky and stands in *abhaṅga*. His hands carry a long trident in the left and an indistinct object in the right. There is a circular halo round his head. He wears jewelled ornaments and his hair is arranged with a big knot at the top. The lower part of the body is carved upto the knees with a well designed and decorated garment and the folds of the drapery hanging in between his legs.

No. 3. The smaller niche to the right on the east wall of the north-east corner shrine of the *jagamohana* in the Madhukeśvara, contains the youthful figure of a male deity standing in *abhaṅga*. He is four-armed and three of his hands carry an axe, a rosary and a long trident while the natural left hand holds the tassels of his waist cloth which passes round his thighs. He wears a single-stranded *yajñopavīta*, a jewelled *kaṭisūtra* and other ornaments. The coiffure is arranged with a big knot at the top and is ornamented with a fillet. The coiled locks of his hair fall to the sides on his shoulders. The lower part of his body is covered upto the knees with its fold hanging in between his legs. The divine nature of this image, however, cannot be established because the absence of a halo behind his head.

No. 4. In the upper medallion of the *chaitya* arch on the west face of the tower of

1. T.A. Gopinatha Rao, *Elements of Hindu Iconography*, Vol. II, Pt. II, Appendix B, pp. 27-28.

the Madhukeśvara, can be found a four-armed male figure standing in *samabhaṅga.* His hands carry a vase, a club and two indistinct objects. He is wearing a crown, a long *yajñopavīta* and other ornaments. Two male attendants are seen standing one on either side.

No. 5. A niche on the north wall of the south-west corner shrine in the Madhukeśvara, contains the image of a male deity standing in *tribhaṅga*. He carries a flower in his right hand and the left holds the tassels of his waist cloth which passes round his thighs. The lower part of the body is covered with a garment upto his knees and the folds of the drapery hang in between his legs. The hair is arranged in coiled locks which fall to the sides on his shoulders. There is an oval halo round his head. To his right stands a female who carries a musical instrument in her hands and from her right arm a basket is hanging. Another female can be seen seated at the bottom on the right. She is seated at ease and lifts her head to look at the male deity.

No. 6. A niche on the north wall of the south-west corner shrine in the Madhukeśvara, contains the figure of a male deity standing in *tribhaṅga.* The right hand holds a flower which rests on his shoulder while the left rests on the top of an indistinct long object (staff or sword ?) now under plaster. The is an oval halo round his head, The hair is combed and tied at the top from where coiled locks fall to the sides and over his shoulders. He wears a beaded necklace, jewelled armlets and wrislets, and a chain-like *kaṭisūtra*. The lower part of his body is covered with a garment upto his knees and its folds hang in between his legs. A waist cloth is tied round his thighs. The nose and chin of the figure are damaged and portions of the figure are obscured by plaster. To the right of the male are found two women. One of the females is standing on a pedestal and carries indistinct objects in her hands which are partly under plaster. A basket hangs from her right arm. The other female at the bottom is kneeling. The right hand holds her hair in front of her chest while the left rests on the ground. Her face is slightly raised to look at the male.

No. 7. A niche on the south wall of the south-east corner shrine in the Madhukeśvara contains an image of a male deity standing in *tribhaṅga* with the left leg slightly bent forward. The right hand holds a flower while the left rests on the hilt of a sword (partly broken). The oval halo round his head is now under plaster. The hair is combed and tied at the top with a flower ornament and coiled locks fall from the top to the sides and over the shoulders, The coiffure is ornamented with a fillet above the forehead. He wears jewelled armlets and wristlets, a double-stranded *yajñopavīta* and a *kaṭisutra.* The lower part of his body is covered with a garment upto the knees and its folds hang in between his legs. The face and the feet of the figure are damaged.

No. 8. In the bottom panel on the left pilaster flanking the doorway of the *khakhara deul* on the south *prākāra* wall of the Madhukeśvara, is depicted the figure of a

male deity standing in *tribhaṅga*. The right hand carries a flower held in front and the left holds the tassels of the waist cloth and there is an oval halo round his head. He wears the usual ornaments. The figure is partly under plaster and the portion of legs below the thigh is now in the ground. The face and chest of the figure are damaged.

No. 9. On the lintel of the doorway on the outside of the east *prākāta* wall of the Madhukeśvara, is carved the figure of a male deity seated in *sukhāsana* on a stool. The right hand, resting on his knee, holds a flower while the left rests on the hip. The hair is combed and tied at the top with a lotus ornament. From the top coiled locks fall to the sides over his shoulders. He wears a beaded necklace, jewelled armlets and wristlets, a double-stranded *yajñopavīta*, a jewelied waist-girdle and a *kaṭīsūtra*. There is an oval halo round his head. He seems to welcome the pilgrims into the sanctuary. Two female attendants stand, one on either side, each holding a *chauri* in one of her hands. Each of them is provided with a halo round her head.

No. 10. The third panel from the top on the right pilaster flanking the above doorway depicts the dancing figure of a male deity. The right hand shows the *kaṭaka* pose while the left rests on thighs. The hair is tied at the top from where coiled locks fall on the sides and over his shoulders. The lower part of his body is covered with a garment upto the knees. A scarf passes round the back of his waist and over the arms with its ends falling on the sides. At the bottom right a monkey is seen seated holding an indistinct object. Its head is upraised, to look at the male and it seems to appreciate his dance. The chest of the figure is damaged while its left leg and right hand are broken.

No. 11 The lower medallion of the *chaitya* arch on the south face of the tower of the Bhīmeśvara, contains the four-armed image of a male deity seated in *padmāsana* on a double-petelled lotus. The upper hands carry indistinct objects covered under plaster. The lower right shows *abhaya* while the left carries a vase. He wears the usual ornaments includlng a waist gridle and a double-stranded short *yajñopavīta*. The coiffure, the upper hands and the lotus seat are now under plaster. There is a circular halo round the head. Outside the medallion are also found a few figures. On the bottom left are seen two bearded ascetics seated and with *yogapaṭṭas* tied around their raised knees and waist. The figures on the bottom left, probably of the ascetics, are now under plaster.

No. 12. The upper medallion of the *chaitya* arch on the west face of the tower of the Bhīmeśvara, contains an image of a male deity. However, it is completely obscured by the wild growth of plants on the *śikhara*.

No. 13. A niche on the north wall of the sanctum the Someśvara, contains a charming figure of four-armed male deity standing in *tribhaṅga*. Three of his hands hold a trident, an axe and a rosary while the lower right shows *varada*. He wears

the usual ornaments including a pearl-stringed *yajñopavīta*. The lower part of his body is covered with a garment upto his knees. Two dwarfs can be seen at the bottom standing one on either side. In the top left corner a lotus is carved in half. The hair is arranged with a big knot at the top with rising coiled locks.

FEMALE DEITIES

No. 1. A niche on the east wall of the north-west corner shrine contains an image of a female deity. She is seen standing with an oval halo round her head. The right hand holding a *chauri* is placed on *kaṭi* while the left carries a flower. The hair is well-combed and arranged with a heavy knot at the back above the right shoulder. The coiffure is ornamented with a fillet, a crescent moon and flowers. She wears two necklaces, one of them falling gracefully in between the bulbous breasts, armlets, wristlets and a pearl-stringed *kaṭisūtra*. The lower part of her body is covered with a garment down to her feet which at present are obscured by the plaster covering them. A scraf passes round her back and over the arms and its end fall on the sides. The nose and lower lip of the figure are partly damaged but the flatness of her face can be easily noticed.

No. 2. A niche on the south wall of the same shrine contains an image of a female deity standing cross-legged in a graceful pose. The right hand holds a flower while the left is placed elegantly on the right shoulder of a female attendant standing to her left. There is an oval halo round her head. The unnaturally elongated neck of the female may betray the unskilled workmanship of the local craftsman but the slim waist and the swelling right hip undoubtedly show his mature conception of a beautiful female figure. The hair is well-combed and arranged with a heavy knot at the back above her left shoulder and is ornamented with a fillet and flowers. She wears a necklace, a long necklace falling admirably in between her bulging breasts, a pearl-stringed *kaṭisūtra*, wristlets and armlets. The lower part of her body is covered with a designed garment down to her feet. A scarf passes round her back and over the arms. The female attendant stands on the left with her head slightly raised and looking at the goddess. She holds a basket in her left hand.

No. 3. In a panel on the left pilaster flanking the doorway of the south-west corner shrine in the Madhukeśuara, is depicted the image of a female deity standing cross-legged in *tribhaṅga*. The hands rest elegantly on her hips imparting to the figure a graceful pose. The round breasts, the narrow waist and the swelling hips of the female figure admirably match the curved flexions of her body. The hair is well-combed and arranged with a big knot at the top. The lower part of her body is covered with a designed garment upto the feet. There is a circular halo round her head. The face, however, is damaged.

No. 4. In a niche on the east wall of the south-west corner shrine in the Madhukeśvara is carved the figure of a female deity standing cross-legged in *tribhaṅga* in a graceful pose. The right hand holds a broken object while the left rests on the hilt

of a sword. There is a circular halo round her head. The smile lurking on her flat face refreshes the onlooker despite her damaged nose. The hair is well-combed and arranged with a heavy knot at the back above the left shoulder. The coiffure is ornamented with a fillet and flowers. She wears a necklace, a long necklace, jewelled wristlets and armlets. The lower part of her body is covered with a garment upto her feet. Folds of the drapery hang in between her legs. A scarf passes round her back and over the arms with the ends hanging on the sides.

No. 5. The top panel on the left pilaster flanking the doorway of the *khakhara deul* on the south *prākāra* wall of the Madhukeśvara, depicts the figure of a female deity standing in *dvibhaṅga* with the right leg slightly bent forward. The left hand holds a flower while the right rests on the hilt of a sword. There is an oval halo round her head. The hair is well-combed and arranged with a big knot at the top and is ornamented with a crescent moon and fillet. The lower part of her body is covered with a garment with designs upto the feet and a scarf passes round her back and over the arms with the ends hanging on the sides. She wears necklace, jewelled armlets, wristlets and a *kaṭisūtra*.

No. 6. The middle panel on the same pilaster contains the figure of a female deity standing cross-legged in *tribhaṅga* in a graceful pose. The left hand rests on her thigh while the right holds a bunch of fruits. A parrot at bottom right is seen pecking at the fruits. Another parrot sits on her right arm and she is seen talking to it. There is an oval halo round her head. The hair is well-combed and is arranged with a heavy knot at the back above her left shoulder. The coiffure is ornamented with a crescent moon, a lotus and a fillet. She wears a necklace, a long necklace falling beautifully in between the bulging breasts, jewelled armlets and wristlets and a *kaṭisūtra*. The upper part of her body wears a blouse, a feature very rarely found in the sculptures at Mukhaliṅgaṁ, and the lower part is covered with a garment down to her feet. A scarf passes round her back and over the arms with the ends falling on the sides. The nose and the lips of the figure are damaged.

No. 7. The third panel on the same vertical contains another figure of a female deity standing in *tribhaṅga*. The right hand holds a *chauri* and rests on her waist while the left carries a flower. There is an oval halo round her head. The hair is well-combed and arranged with a heavy knot at the back above the right shoulder and is ornamented with a crescent moon, a fillet and lotuses. The lower part of her body is covered with a designed garment upto the feet and a scarf passes round her back and over the arms with its ends hanging on the sides. She wears two necklaces, a *kaṭisūtra*, and jewelled armlets, wristlets and anklets. Folds of skin below the round bulging breasts are well-marked. The face and left foot of the figure are partly damaged.

No. 8. The second panel from the top on the middle left vertical on the inside of the same doorway depicts the figure of a female deity standing in a graceful pose in *tribhaṅga*. The right hands holds a *chauri* pointing downwards while the left rests

on the top of a staff. The hair is well-combed and arranged with a heavy knot at the back above her left shoulder and is ornamented with a crescent moon, a lotus and a fillet. She wears a necklace, jewelled armlets and wristlets. The lower part of her body is covered with a designed garment up to the feet, and a scarf passes round her back and over the arms with the ends falling on the sides. The skin-folds below the heavy breasts are well-marked. In spite of the damaged condition of the torso, it presents a serene and self-absorbed appearance.

No. 9. The third panel of the same vertical contains the figure of a female deity. However, except for the feet and head, the remaining portions of the figure are damaged. She stands cross-legged in a beautiful pose. The lower part of her body was probably clad with a garment upto the feet. She holds a scarf in her left hand. The hair is well-combed and secured in a big knot at the top. A fillet and a lotus ornament adorn the coiffure.

CHAPTER FIVE

CHRONOLOGY OF THE TEMPLES

In the earlier chapters the historical background of the region, architectural features and sculptural and iconographical wealth of the Mukhaliṅgaṁ temples are described. Here an attempt is made to correlate the evidence detailed in the earlier chapters in order to ascertain the chronology of the three temples.

There is no definite epigraphic evidence to enable us to know the dates of the building of the temples at Mukhaliṅgaṁ. In assigning dates, the art historians based themselves mainly on the style of the art and architecture of these temples and there is no agreement among the scholars on their probable dates. The dates given by the scholars vary from 6th to 11th century A.D.

According to Percy Brown,[1] the foundation of the temples at Mukhaliṅgaṁ took place in about 6th century A.D., when the Eastern Gangas established their capital at the place. He further says that the Gupta style, whose influence as noticed in the Madhukeśvara temple is of the order that pervailed in north and north-west India during 7th century A.D. Finally, he concludes that "from their appearance, and specially from the character of their carving, in their present form they may date from the ninth or tenth centuries".

According to N, Ramesan,[2] the Someśvara temple was the earliest of the three temples. It was built in 6th or 7th century A.D. It was probably built, according to him, during the reign of Hastivarma when he shifted the capital from Dantapura to Kaliṅganagara. The basis on which he arrives at this conclusion is, "the simple and undorned architecture of this temple". The Madhukeśvara temple, according to him, "must have been built round about the first half of the 10th century". He draws his conclusion from the following evidence. The Korni C.P. of Anantavarma Choḍaganga dated 1112 A.D. states that Kāmārṇava built the Madhukeśvara temple.

1. Percy Brown, *Indian Architecture* (Buddhist and Hindu Periods), p. 102.
2. Mukhalingam Temples, Reprint from *Ārādhana*, March, 1955, pp. 1-6.

On the basis of the known date of coronation of Vajrahasta III in 1038 A.D. and by working backwards the geneology as given in the later records, Ramesan fixes the regnal period of Kāmārṇava, who is stated to have built the Madhukeśvara temple, as 941-976 A.D. The Bhīmeśvara temple, according to him, was built during the reign of Anantavarma Aniyaṅkabhīma or Vajrahasta II (980-1015 A.D.). In assigning dates to the temples at Mukhaliṅgaṁ, Ramesan supports his argument on the basis of their architectural style also. According to him, the Mukhaliṅgaṁ temples, especially the Someśvara, form a transitional stage between the early Chālukyan examples at Aihole, datable from 6th century A.D. on the one hand and the Orissan temples, which are datable from 7th century A.D. and which ultimately culminated in the development of full-fledged form of Indo-Aryan style, on the other.

According to Douglas Barret,[1] who was the first scholar to make an attampt to study the style of art and architecture of the Mukhaliṅgaṁ temples in some depth, these temples are affiliated to the Orissan style. Hence, in assigning dates to temples at Mukhaliṅgaṁ, he depends on their relation in style to those of Bhubanesvar. According to him, the Mukhaliṅgeśvara(Madhukeśvara) temple is comparable in style to the small early group of temples at Bhubanesvar belonging to the Bhauma-Kara period. He further says that the Mukhaliṅgeśvara temple, on grounds of style and iconography, stands between the Paraśurāmeśvara and the Vaital-Śiśreśvara groups of temples. Hence, he assigns the second half of 8th century A.D. to the Madhukeśvara temple. The Someśvara, according to Barret, was the second to be built at Mukhaliṅgaṁ. He says that in style, it is earlier than the Mukteśvara temple at Bhubanesvar which is datable to the second half of the 10th century A.D. Therefore, he places the someśvara in the second half of 9th century A.D. In arriving at the date of the construction of the Bhimeśvara temple, he depends on both the epigraphical evidence and the style of the temple. An inscription in the temple refers to it as Aniyankabhīmeśvara. Therefore, Barret takes Vajrahasta II, who had the title of Aniyaṅkabhimeśvara and who ruled from 982 A.D. to 1016 A.D., as the builder of the Bhīmeśvara temple. He further observes that, "in any case the style of the sculpture suggests a date at the beginning of the 11th century A.D.

The dates of the Mukhaliṅgaṁ temples as given by K.V. Soundara Rajan,[2] who has surveyed the art and architecture of all the early temples in Andhra Pradesh generally agree with those assigned by Douglas Barret. According to him, the Mukhaliṅgeśvara (Madhukeśvara) temple is architecturally the earliest of the three temples at Mukhaliṅgaṁ and shows formal evolution. He says that it was built during the middle to late 8th century A.D. The Someśvara temple, according to him, presents a finite advance over Madhukeśvara and, therefore, was built at least half of a century later. In arriving at the date of the Bhimeśvara temple he depends

1. Barret, *Mukhalingam Temples*, pp. 7-12.
2. *Architecture of the Early Hindu Temples of Andhra Pradesh*, Andhra Pradesh Govt. Archaeology series No. 21, pp. 29-30.

on the epigraphical evidence pointed out earlier, and assigns it to the period of Vajrahasta II (982-1016 A.D.). In support of this conclusion he further observes that, "this date fits in well with its sculptural and architectural affiliations and decor".

Madhukesvara Temple

According to the Korni C.P.[1] of Anantavarma Choḍaganga dated 1112 A.D., one of his ancestors named Kāmārṇava II built a temple for Śiva in the form of Madhukeśa. The regnal period of Kāmārṇava II, as given in the grant, comes to 803-853 A.D. Thus, on the basis of this epigraphical evidence, the Madhukeśvara temple will have to be assigned to the first half of the 9th century A.D.

The earliest inscriptions found in the Madhukeśvara temple is dated as late as Śaka 980 (1058 A.D.).[2] None of the hundred or more records found on the temple refers to its construction. Therefore, in arriving at the date of building of this temple, we can profitably turn to the style of art and architecture on the one hand and to the evidence available from a study of the iconography of the temple on the other

As pointed out earlier, the Madhukeśvara and Bhīmeśvara temples are of Indo-Aryan type as can be seen in the emphasis on the vertical accent of the *śikhara* and are affiliated to the Orissan style as testified by the curvilinear shape of the *śikhara*. In architecture, the Gupta influence can be noticed in the expanded doorway, the overhanging lintel and the "vase-and-foliage" order of the pilasters. Therefore, the presence of these Gupta features suggests an early date.

The plainness of the exterior walls of the sanctum except for the wide middle projection, evidently suggests an early date to the Madhukeśvara temple.

The four corner *rekha deuls* of the *jagamohana* and the four *panchāyatana* corner shrines, each standing on a *tri-ratha* plan, resemble in their architectural style the Paraśurāmeśvara and Śiśireśvara groups of temples at Bhubanesvar.

In the arrangement of the four *rekha deuls* at the four corners of the *jagamohana* and in the flat-roofed character of the latter, the Mukhaliṅgaṁ craftsmen closely followed the plan and arrangement of the *jagamohana* of the Vaital *deul* at Bhubanesvar. Moreover, the presence of *khakhara deuls* and the wagon-roof of the entrance gateway of the Madhukeśvara undoubtedly show the influence of the Vaital deul at Bhubanesvar.

1. *JAHRS*, Vol. I, pp. 106-124. However, none of Kāmārṇava's records are found so far. On the other hand, contemporary records issued by kings belonging to the Eastern Ganga dynasty have come to light. Hence, the account given in the Korni C. P. remains uncorroborated.
2. *SII*, Vol. V, No. 1123.

The base mouldings of the *deul* and of the *jagamohana* of the Madhukeśvara temple and those of the corner shrines in the same temple exactly correspond, in their shape and in their three-fold arrangement, to those of the Paraśurāmeśvara and the Vaital-Śiśireśvara groups of temples at Bhubanesvar.

Thus, in its architectural style, the Madhukeśvara temple cannot be assigned a date earlier than the Vaital-Śiśireśvara group of temples at Bhubanesvar which are datable to 8th century A.D. Allowing 50 years for the Orissan tradition to reach Mukhaliṅgaṁ, the Madhukeśvara temple can be assigned to the middle of 9th century A.D.

The presence of the figures of Ganga and Yamuna in niches on either side of the east doorway of the *jagamohana*, the smooth flowing outlines and round plasticity of the figure of Gaṅga, the serene and self-absorded nature of the decorative female figures and the exuberant freshness of certain foliage patterns clearly exhibit classical flavour of the Gupta Period.

The figures of Bhikshāṭanamūrti and Natarāja, those of Durgā, and that of Gaṇeśa in *chaitya* medallions on the east, north and south facades of the main *śikhara* closely resemble, in their plastic quality and workmanship, the Early Chālukyan sculptures of the Dharwar region and the Eastern Chālukyan examples of Coastal Andhra. The Chālukyan influence in sculptural art is attested by the string of bells forming the necklace adorning the figure of Gaṇeśa. Particularly, the figures of Bhikshāṭanamūrti and Natarāja closely resemble the Early Chālukyan sculptures found at Madugula which are datable to 8th century A.D.

The foliage and geometrical patterns found on the doorways and pilasters of the Madhukeśvara temple closely resemble those found on the Vaital deul at Bhubanesvar.

The presence of a large number of *chaitya* arches on the Madhukeśvara temple show that the tradition was derived from the Paraśurāmeśvara and Vaital-Śiśireśvara groups of temples at Bhubanesvar. Moreover, the *chaitya* arches found on the Madhukeśvara temple are natural and closely resemble those of the above two groups of temples of Bhubanesvar.

A large number of lotus medallions can be seen on the Madhukeśvara temple. At Bhubanesvar, lotus medallions are present only on the Paraśurāmeśvara and Vaital-Śiśireśvara groups of temples and absent in the case of the later temples.

The foliated vases found in the Madhukeśvara temple are stylised and closely resemble those on the Vaital-Śiśireśvara group of temples at Bhubanesvar.

A large number of decorating *kīrttimukhas* can be noticed in the Madhukeśvara temple. The tradition was obviously derived from the classical Gupta school as it travelled to Mukhaliṅgaṁ *via* Orissa. At Bhubanesvar, a large number of *kīrttimukhas* can be found on the Paraśurāmeśvara temple. A particular form of *kīrtti-*

mukha design flanked by lions or lion riders appears for the first time in the Vaital-Śiśireśvara group of temples at Bhubanesvar. The same type of *kīrttimukha* design can also be seen in the Madhukeśvara temple.

In the case of the Madhukeśvara temple, all divine images are provided each with a halo round its head. At Bhubaneswar the practice of omitting halos round the heads of the divine images commences with the Mukteśvara temple which is datable to the second half of 10th century A.D. Therefore, the Madhukeśvara temple will have to be assigned a date earlier than that of the Mukteśvara.

In the Madhukeśvara temple, one comes across frequently a motif which is uncommon elsewhere in India. That is the *Nāga* gargoyle or spout. The same motif travelled all its way to South East Asia and appeared in Java and Bali in 10th century A.D. Therefore, the Madhukeśvara temple will have to be assigned to a date earlier than 10th century A.D.

The Mukhaliṅgaṁ craftsmen followed a special technique for carving human figures in the Madhukeśvara temple. Parts of figures are carved on different blocks of stone and then arranged in successive courses to form a whole. This technique was not adopted in the case of the other two temples at Mukhaliṅgaṁ. At Bhubanesvar, the same technique was followed by the Orissan sculptor in the Vaital-Śiśireśvara group of temples.

Thus the evidence already cited shows that the Madhukeśvara temple at Mukhaliṅgaṁ is either contemporary or later in date to Vaital-Śiśireśvara group of temples at Bhubanesvar and earlier than the Mukteśvara at the same place, which are datable to 8th century and 10th century A.D. respectively. Hence, the Madhukeśvara temple may be assigned to the middle of the 9th century A.D.

The Kārttikeya image in a niche on the north wall of the *jagamohana* is not accompanied by cock as one of the attributes of the God. Another image of Kārttikeya in the central niche on the north wall of the north-west corner *rekha ḍeul* of the *jagamohana*, also does not have cock as an attribute of the god. A third image of the same god in a niche on the south wall of the *jagamohana* is represented without a cock. At Bhubanesvar, this type of Kārttikeya image occurs only on the Paraśurāmeśvara and Śiśireśvara groups of temples. The latter are datable to 8th century A.D.

The *chaitya* medallion on the west face of the *sikhara* of the south-west corner *rekha* of the *jagamohana* contains an image of multi-armed Natarāja. In the pose of the dancing figure and its hands, this image closely resembles those of Natarāja found on the Paraśurāmeśvara and Vaital groups of temples at Bhubanesvar, with the only difference here being that the lower-most hands, instead of the topmost, hold the snake horizontally which is necessitated by the lack of space at the top.

A niche in the south wall of the *jagamohana* contains another multi-armed image of Natarāja. In the *chatura* mode of dancing and in the poses and *mudras* of

hands, this image, like the one noticed above, closely resembles those in the Paraśurāmeśvara and the Vaital-Śiśireśvara groups of temples at Bhubanesvar. A significant feature of this image is that Śiva is shown here as affectionately touching the chin of a female standing to his left with one of his left hands. Śiva depicted with one of his hands touching the chin of a female standing or seated by his side is peculiar to the Vaital-Śiśireśvara group of temples. Hence, the image in the Madhukeśvara temple cannot be dated later than 9th century A.D.

The upper medallion in the *kīrttimukha* arch above the south doorway of the *jagamohana* contains a fourteen-armed image of Natarāja. It resembles the above figures of Natarāja and one of the left hands of the god is seen touching the chin of a female seated on a pedestal to his left. A close counterpart of this image is found in a *chaitya* medallion on the Vaital deul at Bhubanesvar.[1]

There are three images of Sūrya in niches on the walls of north-west corner *rekha* of the *jagamohana*. In each case, the god is represented alone and is accompanied neither by his wives nor by his usual retinue of the charioteer Aruṇa and the horses. A niche on the east wall of south-east corner *rekha* of the *jagamohana* also contains an image of Sūrya represented alone. Therefore, these images of the Sun-god suggest an early medieval date. An image of Sūrya is found on the lintel of the doorway of the south-east corner shrine. Except for minor differences, this figure of Sūrya resembles the one hailing from Khiching which is assigned to early medieval period.[2]

The central niche on the south wall of the south-west corner *rekha* of the *jagamohana* contains an image of Gaṇeśa. Here the god is not accompanied by his mount, the mouse. The lower medallion of the *chaitya* arch on the south face of the main *śikhara* contains an image of Gaṇeśa represented without the mouse. The figure of Gaṇeśa in a panel on the right pilaster flanking the doorway of the north-west corner shrine is conspicuous by the absence of his mount, the mouse. The Gaṇeśa image in the *chaitya* arch on the west face of the *śikhara* of the south-east corner shrine is also not accompanied by the mouse. At Bhubanesvar, this type of Gaṇeśa image represented without mouse occurs on the Paraśurāmeśvara and the Vaital-Śiśireśvara groups of temples only and in the later temples the god is inevitably accompanied by his mount. Therefore, the Madhukeśvara temple will have to be assigned a date between 8th and 10th centuries A.D.

In the *khakhara deul* on the north *prākāra* wall are found the images of Durgā, Saptamātṛikas and Chāmuṇḍā. The presence of these images testifies not only to the prevalence of Śāktism but also suggests tāntric rituals and sacrifices including human

1. K.C. Panigrahi, *Archaeological Remains at Bhubaneswar*, Fig. 116.
2. J.N. Banerjee, *Development of Hindu Iconography*, Pl, XXX, Fig. 2.

sacrifices.[1] This tradition was derived probably from the Vital deul which enshrines Chāmuṇḍā as its central deity.

On the lintel of the doorway of the south-west corner shrine can be found the images of eight planets only instead of the usual nine. The absence of Ketu, the ninth planet, helps us in dating the temple. At Bhubanesvar, the planet-slabs represented without Ketu are found only in the early temples like Paraśurāmeśvara, Śatrughneśvara, Svarṇajaleśvara, etc. Ketu first appears in the Mukteśvara temple which is assigned to the second half of 10th century A.D, Therefore, the Madhukeśvara must have been built later than the Paraśurāmeśvara and the Vital-Śiśreśvara groups of temples and earlier than the Mukteśvara.

In three images of the Sun-god, one hailing from the Śiśireśvara temple at Bhubanesvar (8th century AD), another from the Madhukeśvara temple (assigned in this study to the middle of 9th century A.D.) and the third from the Vīrabhadra temple at Biccavolu (late 9th century A.D.), Aruṇa is represented with legs. It is obvious that this tradition reached Biccovolu from Orissa *via* Mukhaliṅgaṁ and it suggests the chronological position of the temples. Moreover, the Sūrya image from Mukhaliṅgaṁ (found on the south-east corner shrine in the Madhukeśvara temple) closely resembles the one found on the east face of the *śikhara* of the Śiśireśvara temple at Bhubanesvar.

Thus the study of the iconography of the Madhukeśvara temple enables us to assign it a date between 8th and 10th centuries A.D. and most probably it was built during the middle or second half of the 9th century A.D. We may assign it to the period of Anantavarma Vajrahasta II who ruled from 850 to 876 A.D.

BHIMESVARA TEMPLE

The Bhīmeśvara temple consists only of a sanctuary and a *jagamohana*. In architectural style, it closely resembles the Madhukeśvara. However, it shows some advances over the Madhukeśvara. The sanctuary and the *jagamohana* of the Bhimeśvara are joined by a narrow *antarāla*, a feature absent in the case of the Madhukeśvara temple. Whereas the exterior walls of the sanctum of the Madhukeśvara are plain except for the projecting wide central band, there is a niche containing a divine image on each face of the central shrine of the Bhimeśvara temple. Hence, in architectural style, the Bhimeśvara should be assigned a date later than that of the Madhukeśvara.

1. That human and animal sacrifices were used to be performed at Mukhaliṅgaṁ at that time can also be known from the following panels found on loose slabs ; (1) in one panel a woman is shown holding a balance in which there is a man on one side with his limbs and head drooping and on the other side a headless human body, both of them being weighed by the woman ; (2) in another panel can be seen a six-armed goddess (Śakti) holding a sword in one of her hands and about to sacrifice a man held in another hand ; (3) a third panel shows a number of persons performing some rituals and about to sacrifice a female bound and hung upside down from a tree ; and (4) a fourth panel represents a male holding a sword and cattle near him; the cattle apparently meant for sacrifice.

The art of the Bhīmeśvara temple exhibits a slight deterioration in style. The cutting of the reliefs is also deeper than that of the Madhukeśvara. Therefore, the Bhīmeśvara will have to be dated later than the Madhukeśvara. In the technique of carving, the Bhīmeśvara shows a change from that of the Madhukeśvara. The sculptured reliefs are carved on loose slabs and then fitted in the shallow niches. Hence, the Bhīmeśvara will have to assigned a date contemporary with with or later than the Mukteśvara at Bhubaneśvar where this technique was adopted in the later group of temples.

Moreover, art of Bhimeśvara exhibits a predominant influence of Eastern Chālukyan and Tamilian traditions. In addition to the Nandis in front of the temple, the sculptures of the human figures, in their plasticity, resemble closely those of the Early Chālukyan examples. This is also attested by the strings of bells ornamenting the bulls. The influence from Tamilnadu can be seen in the form of tridents whose outer prongs are carved in a semi-circular fashion, in the *kartarimukha* mode of holding objects in the hands as in the case of the Narasiṁha image, and in the presence of the image of Dakshiṇāmūrti which is popular in Tamilnadu. Hence, the Bhīmeśvara temple should be assigncd a date when there were increasing contacts between Coastal Andhra and Tamilnadu on the one hand and the Mukhaliṅgaṁ region on the other. After the conquest of Kaliṅga by Guṇaga Vijayaḍitya in the last quarter of the 9th century A.D., the Eastern Chālukyas maintained their hold on Kaliṅga. The beginning of Chola influence in Kaliṅga can be traced to the invasion of that region by the great Chola emperor Rajaraja I in 999—1000 A.D. Hence the Bhīmeśvara will have to be assigned a date later than 1000 A.D.

A study of the iconography of the Bhīmeśvara also helps us in dating that temple. A niche on the south wall of the *antarāla* contains an image of Gaṇeśa. The god is accompanied by his mount the mouse. At Bhubanesvar, this type of Gaṇeśa image represented with the mouse occurs for the first time in the temple of Mukteśvara which is datable to the third quarter of 10th century A.D. Hence, the Bhīmeśvara will have to be assigned a date later than 975 A.D.

In the case of the Bhīmeśvara temple, epigraphical evidence also comes to our help in dating the temple. Except one, all the remaining inscriptions[1] found in the Bhīmeśvara refer to the central deity of the shrine as Aniyaṅka Bhīmeśvara. According to the records of Anantavarma Vajrahasta V, Aniyaṅkabhīma was another name of Vajrahasta IV who ruled from 980 to 1015 A.D. Hence, it is most probable that the Bhīmeśvara temple was built during the reign of Vajrahasta IV.

By collating all the above evidence, it may be surmised that the Bhīmeśvara temple was built in the beginning of 11th century A.D. or during 1000-1015 A.D.

1. *SII*, Vol. V, Nos. 1135 to 1144 and 1146 to 1148.

SOMESVARA TEMPLE

No inscription is found in the Someśvara temple. The architectural style of the Someśvara temple is a typical example of the development *rekha deul* of Orissa. The slender elegance of the tower and its finished appearance bears resemblance to the Mukteśvara temple of Bhubanesvar. In fixing the chronology conclusively, however, we have to turn to art and iconography of the temple for its probable date.

Though the *śikhara* of the Someśvara temple is of the early Orissan *rekha* type, other features go to suggest a later date to the temple. The base mouldings of the Someśvara, in shape, in number and in their arrangement closely resemble those of the corner base mouldings of the *deul* of the Mukteśvara temple which is assigned to the second half of the 10th century A.D. The base mouldings of this type can be seen in all the later temples at Bhubanesvar.

The sculptural art of the Someśvara is more advanced chronologically as it shows stylisation on the one hand and inferior workmanship on the other. The degeneration in craftsmenship can also be noticed on the doorway of the sanctum where the floral motifs and patterns are pale and lifeless in comparison to their exuberant richness on the doorways of the *jagamohana* of the Madhukeśvara. The sculptural art of the Someśvara is a poor imitation of the Madhukeśvara. To take two examples, the Nataraja and Surya figures on the west and east faces respectively of the *śikhara* of the Someśvara are rigid and lifeless imitations of their counterparts in the Madhukeśvara. Hence, in the art style, the Someśvara is one or two centuries later than the Madhukeśvara in date.

In the technique of carving, the Someśvara can be classified with the Bhimeśvara. The figures are carved on loose slabs and then fitted in the shallow niches. However, the cutting of the reliefs is deeper in the case of Someśvara and the figures in the central niches on its walls are carved almost in round. Hence, the Someśvara should be placed later than the Bhīmeśvara.

The big *chaitya* arches with clear-cut lacings ornamenting the tower of the Someśvara resemble those on the Mukteśvara at Bhuhanesvar. It appears that the Mukhaliṅgaṁ sculptor copied the Orissan *bho* motif which appears for the first time on the Mukteśvara and modified it by replacing the dwarfs with the motif of a lion rider above an elephant flanking the *chaitya* arch on the two sides.

All the tridents present on the walls of the Someśvara are of a type which is mostly found in Tamilnadu. Hence, the Someśvara should be placed in a period when the Choḷa influence was predominant at Mukhaliṅgaṁ. Again the presence of a number of erotic sculptures of perverted nature places the Someśvara temple later than 10th century A.D.

On the lintel of the doorway of the sanctum of the Someśvara are found the figures of nine planets. At Bhubaneswar the ninth planet Ketu appears for the first

time in the Mukteśvara which is datable to the third quarter of the 10th century A.D. Hence, the Someśvara will have to be assigned a date later than the Mukteśvara.

The Kārttikeya image in a panel on the lintel of a niche on the north wall of the sanctum of the Someśvara is conspicuous by the presençe of cock as one of the attributes of the youthful god. At Bhubanesvar this type of images of Kārttikeya representing the god with a cock are found for the first time in the Mukteśvara. Therefore, the Someśvara should be placed later than the Mukteśvara.

The central niche on the south wall of the sanctum of the Someśvara contains an image of Gaṇeśa. The god is accompanied by his mount. At Bhubanesvar, this type of Gaṇeśa image shown along with the mouse, occurs for the first time in the Mukteśvara. Hence, the Someśvara should be assigned a date later than that of the Mukteśvara.

On the basis of a study of the above evidence provided by the architecture, art and iconography of the Someśvara, we can conclude that the Someśvara temple at Mukhaliṅgaṁ was built in the middle of the 11th century A.D. , probably during the region of Anantavarma Vajrahasta V who ruled from 1038 to 1070 A.D.

APPENDIX I

CHRONOLOGY AND GENEALOGY OF THE EASTERN GANGAS

A number of scholars have expressed their views regarding the initial year of the Ganga Era. As is usual in such instances dealing with chronological problems of ancient Indian History, there is no consensus among scholars regarding the date of the foundation of the dynasty of Eastern Gangas. Their dates vary from 4th to 8th century A.D.[1] Since there is no agreement among the scholars regarding the initial year of the Ganga Era, it will be profitable to examine the internal evidence of the records issued by the Gangas.

The earliest records which can be assigned to the Ganga Era are the Trilingi[2] and the Jirjingi[3] Plates which are dated in the years 28 and 39 respectively. Of these two, the first omits to detail on the name of the donor while the latter mentions the donor's name as Indravarma. His successors Devendravarma's record[4] is dated in

1. G. Ramdas—349-350 A.D. (*JBORS*, Vol. IX, Pts. III & IV, 1923, pp. 398-415 and Vol. XVIII, p. 291);
   N. Ramesan—*c.* 471 A.D, (*C.P. Inscriptions of A.P. Govt. Museum*, Hyderabad, Vol. I, p. 128);
   R. Subba Rao—493 A.D. (*Kalingadesacharitra* (Telugu) p. 488);
   J.C. Ghosh—496 A.D. (*Ind. Ant.*, Vol. LXI, p. 337),
   D.C. Sircar—496-497 A.D. (*Select Inscriptions*, p. 458, F.N. 1);
   B.V. Krishnarao—497-498 A.D. (*JAHRS*, Vol. IX, p. 19);
   V.V. Mirashi—498 A.D. (*Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXVI, pp. 326-336 and XXVII, p. 192);
   H.K. Mehtab—492 A.D. (*History of Orissa*, Vol. I, p. 117);
   M. Somasekharasarma—504-505 A.D. (*Indian Culture*, Vol. IX, p. 148);
   R.C. Majumdar—550-557 A.D. (*Ind. Cul.*, Vol. IV, p. 179);
   Fleet—590 A.D. (*Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XVI, pp. 131 ff);
   S.N. Rajguru—626-627 A.D. (*JAHRS*, Vol. I, p. 1);
   R.D. Banerji—741 A.D. (*History of Orissa*, Vol. I, p. 239); and
   B.C. Majumdar—772 A.D. (*JBORS*, Vol. II, pp. 361-362).
   The above shows how widely the views of scholars differ regarding the initial year of the Ganga Era. To take an example, R. Subba Rao changes his view frequently regarding the first year of the Ganga Era and gives as many as three dates at three different times—(a) 471 A.D. (*History of the Eastern Gangas of Kalinga*, p. 85), (b) 493 A,D. (*Kalingadesa Charitra*, p. 488), and (c) 494 pr 509 A.D. (*JAHRS*, Vol. V, p. 267).
2. *JAHRS*, Vol. III, Pt. I, pp. 55 ff.
3. *Ibid.*, pp. 49-53.
4. Srīkākuḷam Plates—(*Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XIII, pp. 273-276).

the year 51 and it specifically mentions the year as belonging to the Ganga Era. A long succession of kings follows in this manner untill we reach Devendravarma who issued his record in the year 397.[1] After his reign, there exists a gap of more than a century. The last known kings who issued their records in Ganga Era are Vajrahasta of the year 500,[2] Devendravarama of the year 520[3] and Madhukāmārṇava of the year 526.[4]

For settling this chronological issue, we can turn to the few early datable records of the Gangas which are issued in Śaka Era and which also mention the names of the kings furnished in the records dated in the Ganga era. The Nadagam Plates[5] of the year Śaka 979 clearly mention Madhukāmārṇava (the same as found in the record dated in 526 G.E.) as the father of Anantavarma Vajrahasta, the issuer of the record. The Vizagapatam Plates[6] of Anantavarma Choḍaganga dated in 1118 A.D. also mention Madhukāmārṇava as the father of Anantavarma Vajrahasta. The earliest date of Vajrahasta is Śaka 960 (1038-A.D.).[7] It is quite likely that the Ganga Era was dispensed with and the Śaka Era introduced for dating the records during his reign. In the records of Anantavarma Vajrahasta, Madhukāmārṇava was assigned 19 years of rule. Assuming that Madhukāmārṇava, the father of Vajrahasta, ascended the throne in 526 G.E.[8] (the date of his record) and ruled for 19 years, the commencement of his reign can be calculated on the basis of his son's reign. If Vajrahasta commenced his reign in 1038 A.D. his father must have ascended the throne in 1019 A.D. Thus 1019 A.D. is equivalent to 526 G.E. This equation yields that the Ganga Era started in 1019—526=493 A.D.

Apart from the line of kings who issued their records dated in Ganga Era, the copper plate charters of the later Ganga rulers, Anantavarma Vajrahasta and his grandson Anantavarma Choḍaganga, supply fresh genealogical tables. However, even here the genealogy furnished by the records of Anantavarma Vajrahasta does not conform to the list found in some of the records of his grandson Choḍagaṅga. Because of these contradictions, the genealogy of the early Ganga kings cannot be reconstructed on a scientific and rational basis. Hence scholars are forced to accept a tentative genealogy and chronology. This can only be reconstructed, as has

1. Chidivalasa Plates—(*JAHRS*, Vol. II, pp, 146-164).
2. Waltair Plates (*Ann. Rep. on Ind. Ep. for 1961-62*, p. 38, No. 21), and Ponduru Plates (*JAHRS*, Vol. IX, pp. 23 ff).
3. Simhapura Plates (*JAHRS*, Vol. III, pp. 171-180).
4. Srīkākuḷam Plates (*Ann. Rep. on S.I. Ep. for 1918-1919*, C.P. No. 51) ; *JBORS*, Vol. XVIII, 1932, Pt. III, pp. 272 ff ; *JAHRS*, Vol. VIII, pp. 180-182 ; R. Subba Rao, *History of Eastern Gangas of Kalinga*, Appendix of Inscriptions, pp. 10-12).
5. *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. IV, pp; 183-193.
6. *Ind. Ant.*, Vol, XVIII, pp. 165-172.
7. The Nadagam Plates (*Ep. Ind.*, Vol. IV, pp. 183-193), dated in 1057 A.D. mentions that Anantavarma Vajrahasta ascended the throne in 1038 A.D.
8. Srīkākuḷam Plates (*Ann. Rep. on S. Ind. Ep. for 1918-19*, C.P. No. 5 ; *JBORS*, Vol, XVIII, 1932, Pt. III, pp. 272 ff ; and *JAHRS*, Vol. VIII, pp. 182-182).

already been mentioned, on the basis of agreement of the name of Madhukāmārṇava, the last ruler to issue a record in Ganga Era, with the name of the father of Vajrahasta, the first king to issue a Ganga record in Śaka Era.

Because of these contradictions, the genealogical tables furnished by the copper plate charters of the later Ganga rulers cannot be relied upon. For the genealogy of the early kings we have to depend upon their own records, arranging them in a consecutive Ganga reckoning. Their chronology can be calculated as shown above from the initial year of the Ganga Era. This difficulty, however, disappears from the commencement of the reign of Anantavarma Vajrahasta. From his reign the datable records and genealogical tables help us to trace the succession of the rulers.

The following geneology and chronology may be adopted for the dynasty of Eastern Gangas of Kaliṅga.

- 1. Indravarma I (493-532 A.D.)
  - 2. Anantavarma I (532-535 A.D.)
    - 3. Devendravarma I (535-544 A.D.)
      - 4. Satyavarma (544-557 A.D.)
        - 5. Sāmantavarma (557-572 A.D.)
          - 6. Hastivarma (572-580 A.D.)
          - 7. Indravarma II (580-605 A.D.)
            - 8. Dānārṇava (605-621 A.D.)
              - 9. Indravarma III (621-647 A.D.)
                - 10. Guṇārṇava I (648-676 A.D.)
                  - 11. Devendravarma II (676-697 A.D.)
                    - 12. Anantavarma II
                      - 14. Nandavarma (714-747 A.D.)
                      - 15. Devendravarma III (747-770 A.D.)
                        - 16. Rajendraverma I (770-777 A.D.)
                          - 17. Anantavarma III (777-797 A.D.)
                            - 19. Rajendravarma II (808-835 A.D.)
                          - 18. Devendravarma IV (798-807 A.D.)
                    - 13. Jayavarma (710-714 A.D.)

20. Vajri (Vajrahasta I) (835-840 A.D.)
  - 21. Mārasiṁha alias Bupendravarma (840-850 A.D.)
    - 22. Anantavarma Vajrahasta II (850-876 A.D.)
    - 23. Devendravarma V (876-895 A.D.)
      - 24. Guṇārṇava II (Guṇamahārṇava) (895 A.D.)
        - 25. Vajrahasta III (895-939 A.D.)
          - 26. Guṇḍama I (939-942 A.D.)
          - 27. Kāmārṇava I (942-977 A.D.)
            - 29. Aniyaṅkabhīma Vajrahasta IV (980-1015 A.D.)
              - 30. Kāmārṇava II (1015 A.D.)
                - 33. Anantavarma Vajrahasta V (1038-1070 A.D.)
                  - 34. Devendravarma VII Rājarāja (1070-1077 A.D.)
                    - 35. Anantavarma Choḍaganga (1077-1147 A.D.)
              - 31. Guṇḍama II (1016-1019 A.D.)
              - 32. Madhukāmārṇava (1019-1038 A.D.)
          - 28. Vinayāditya (977-980 A.D.)

APPENDIX II

LOOSE SCULPTURES AT MUKHALINGAM

A large number of sculptures have been unearthed in and around Mukhaliṅgaṁ. Many of them are still found scattered all over the area. The recovery of these sculptures, in addition to the broken pieces of the *āmalakas*, the door-posts, the lintels, etc., would go to suggest the existence of a few more temples at Mukhaliṅgaṁ which were probably destroyed in course of time. The '*Sthalapurāṇa*' also testifies to this fact and, according to it, there were a number of temples at Mukhaliṅgaṁ dedicated to Siva in the forms of Svapneśvara, Ādityeśvara, Siddheśvara, Yaksheśvara, Mankāṇesvara, and Mukteśvara.[1]

VISHNU

No. 1. Carved on a loose slab partly in round and now placed in the *jagamohana* of the Madhukeśvara temple is the image of Vishnu standing in *samabhaṅga*. He is four-armed; the upper left hand carries conch and the lower left rests on a club; the upper right is broken; and the lower right shows *varada*. His elongaged body wears a bejewelled crown, a pearl-stringed *yajñopavīta*, a chain-like *kaṭisūtra* and other ornaments. There is a circular halo round his head with a pointed end at the top. At the bottom two female attendants stand in graceful poses, one on either side. Two *vidyādharas*, each carrying a garland in his hands are found in the two top corners.

No. 2. On a loose slab, now in the *jagamohana* of the Madhukeśvara temple, is carved the figure of four-armed Vishnu. The upper hands carry a wheel on the right and a conch on the left. The lower hands rest on his knees. The god is seen seated on the shoulders of his mount Garuḍa, represented in therianthropomorphic form with his feet resting on the knees of his mount. Garuḍa is also seated and holds lightly the legs of his lord in the hands. The wings spread out from Garuḍa's shoulders and he wears serpents for necklace, armlets and wristlets. The god wears a bejewelled crown, necklaces, a pearl-stringed *yajñopavīta* and other ornaments. There is a decorated circular halo round his head.

No. 3. An image of Vishnu carved on a loose slab is now found fixed in a wall in the Radhakrishna Math in the village. He is four-armed and stands in *samabhaṅga*. Three of his hands carry a club, a wheel and a conch while the lower right shows *varada*. He wears a bejewelled short crown, *kuṇḍalas*, a necklace, rings for wristlets

and armlets, and a *kaṭisūtra*. The lower part of his body is covered with a garment upto the knees and the folds of the drapery hang in between his legs. On the right at the bottom is found Garuḍa, the mount of Vishnu, kneeling and holding indistinct objects in his hands in front of his chest. He raises his head to look at his lord. On the bottom left is found a dwarf with his head upturned to look at the god and with his hands resting on the top of a staff. The figure of Vishnu is an example of unskilled workmanship as seen in the crude treatment, in the disproportionate arrangement of the parts of the body and in the angular treatment, of the legs. In the modelling of its form it resembles those figures in the Bhikshāṭanamūrti and Nataraja panels on the east facade of the *śikhara* of the Madhukeśvara temple, which resemble the Early Chālukyan sculptures.

VARAHA

Another Vaishnavite image of four-armed Varāha in hybrid form is carved on another loose slab now placed in the *jagamohana* of the Madhukeśvara temple. He stands with his right leg firmly placed on the coils of a Naga couple. He carries a wheel and a conch in his upper right and lower left hands while the two natural hands are held in front of his chest with their fingers interlocked so as to support Bhu, who is rescued from the nether world and is lifted up and is seen seated above the god's left elbow. He wears a long garland, a pearl-stringed *yajñopavīta*, a number of necklaces and other ornaments. His hair is arranged in coiled locks which are tied at the back in a big knot. The lower part of his body is closely covered with a garment upto his knees. There is a circular halo round his head. The Naga king at the bottom left is seen holding up the left foot of the god with his hands and praying for his mercy. The Nāgini (probably the wife of the Nāga king) at the bottom on the right is seen touching the right leg of the god with her hands and pleading for his grace. Both Nāga aud Nāgini are represented in hybrid form with lower serpentine and upper human forms and each of them is canopied under a seven-hooded snake. In the top right corner is found a flying *vidyādhara* carrying a garland in his arms.

TRIVIKRAMA

The colossal form of Vishnu who is about to take three steps (Trivikrama) is carved on another loose slab, now in the *jagamohana* of the Madhukeśvara temple. The god stands firmly on his right leg (the lower part of which, however, is broken) and uplifts his left leg pointing its foot towards the heaven. He is four-armed and three of his hands carry a club, a wheel and a conch while the upper left holds an indistinct object. He is elaborately ornamented with a bejewelled crown, a pearl-stringed *yajñopavīta*, necklaces and other ornaments. The lower part of his body is covered with a garment upto his knees. A waist cloth is tied round his thighs with its ends falling on the right. There is a circular halo round his head. At the bottom on the left is seen Bali, the demon-king holding a vase in his hands and pouring water into the hands of Vāmana standing to his right. On the extreme left can be seen the bearded sage Śukra, the Guru of the demons. For lack of space, the three

figures at the bottom are carved with the lower portions of the legs below their knees left out. In the top left corner is found the figure of the three-faced and four-armed Brahma. The lower hands hold a vase and is seen pouring water on the left foot of the god. The upper hands carry indistinct objects. In the top right corner is found the figure of a flying *vidyādhara* carrying a garland in his hands.

SIVA

The head of Śiva is carved on a loose slab now placed in a small barrel-roofed shrine in the village. The god wears *jaṭāmukuṭa* with a crescent moon prominently carved on its front. The third eye is shown on the forehead.

UMASAHITAMURTI

On another loose slab (now broken) found in the *jagamohana* of the Bhimeśvara temple, are carved the figures of Śiva and Pārvatī seated in *ardhaparyaṅka* on a raised seat. Pārvatī is shown seated on the left thigh of her husband. The right hand of Śiva shows *abhaya* while his left hand is thrown round back of her husband and rests on his right shoulder. Both of them wear the usual ornaments but Śiva's *jaṭāmukuṭa* is arranged in a conical fashion. Round each of their heads is found a decorated elliptical halo. Below the seat are carved the bull and the lion, the mounts of Śiva and Pārvatī, on the right and left respectively.

GANESA

No. 1. On a loose slab, now placed in the sanctum of the *khakhara deul* on the south *prākāra* wall of the Madhukeśvara, is carved the image of six-armed Gaṇeśa. The elephant-headed and pot-bellied god is seated in *śukhāsana* on a pedestal. The right hands carry a serpent, a rosary and a vase and the left a *paraśu*, a *laḍḍu* and an indistinct object. The probiscus is turned to left and is seen lifting the sweetmeat. He wears a *jaṭāmukuṭa*, a snake as *yajñopavīta* and strings of bells as anklets, the last feature evidently derived from Chālukyan tradition and the first from Orissan tradition. The mouse, the mount of the god, is carved at the bottom.

No. 2. On another loose slab in the same shrine is found an image of two-armed Gaṇeśa seated in *sukhāsana* on a pedestal. The left hand carries a *laḍḍu* while the right holds an indistinct object. The probiscus of the elephant-headed god is turned to left and is lifting the sweetmeat from his hand. He wears a *jaṭamukuṭa*, a snake as *yajñopavīta* and strings of bells as anklets. The face and the *jaṭamukuṭa* of the figure are partly damaged. The mouse, the mount of the god, is conspicuous by its absence.

No. 3. On another loose slab in the same sanctum is carved an image of four-armed Gaṇeśa seated in *sukhāsana* on a pedestal. His hands carry a broken tusk (?) (partly damaged) and a rosary on the right and a *laḍḍu* and an indistinct object on the left. He wears no ornaments. The mouse is carved at the bottom. The face of the figure is damaged.

No. 4. On a loose slab, now placed in the *pidha deul* built against the south *prākāra* wall in the Madhukeśvara, is found a four-armed image of the elephant-headed and pot-bellied Gaṇeśa seated in *sukhāsana* on a double-petalled lotus. Three of his hands carry a radish, a rosary and an *aṅkuśa* while the lower left is broken. He wears a *jaṭamukuṭa* with a crescent moon ornamenting it, and snakes as *yajñopavīta*, armlets and wristlets, and strings of bells as necklace and anklets. The face, belly and feet of the figure are damaged while the lower left hand and the probiscus are broken. There is an oval halo round his head. The mouse, the mount of the god, is carved at the bottom. In each of the two top corners is found a flying *Vidyādhara* carrying a garland in his hands.

No. 5. A four-armed image of Gaṇeśa carved on a loose slab is found on the outskirts of the village. However, the portion of the figure below the chest is broken. The upper hands carry a radish on the right and an axe on the left. The lower right holds an axe while the lower left carries a cup of sweetmeats. The probiscus is turned to left and is seen lifting the *modakas*. The god wears *jaṭamukuṭa*, two necklaces and a serpent as *yajñopavīta*. In each of the two top corners is found a flying *Vidyādhara* and both of them hold a lotus garland above the head of the god.

No. 6. A damaged four-armed image of Gaṇeśa is carved on a loose slab which is found in the above shrine. He is seen seated in *sukhāsana* on a pedestal. The objects carried in his hands are not distinct.

No. 7 A four-armed image of Gaṇeśa is carved on a loose slab which is now placed in another small barrel-roofed shrine in the village. The god is seen seated in the *sukhāsana* on a pedestal. The left hands carry an *aṅkuśa* and a cup of sweetmeats while the objects held in the right hands are not distinct. The probiscus is turned to left and is seen lifting the *modakas*. He wears *jaṭamukuṭa*, string of bells as necklace and snake as *yajñopavīta*.

No. 8. Another image of Gaṇeśa carved on a loose slab and mostly damaged is found in the same shrine. The god is seen seated in *sukhāsana*.

No. 9. A damaged figure of Gaṇeśa carved on a loose slab is found in the same shrine. He is four-armed and is seen dancing in *chatura* pose. The lower right hand is held in front in *kaṭaka* pose while the lower left is thrown horizontally to the right. The upper left hand holds an indistinct object and the upper right is broken. The probiscus is turned to the left.

KARTTIKEYA

No. 1. Carved on a loose slab and placed in the *khakhara* shrine on the west *prākāra* wall, is the image of youthful Kārttikeya seated in *lalitākshepa* on a throne. He wears *sakti* in his left hand while the right is now broken. He is elaborately ornamented with a bejewelled crown, a chain-like *yajñopávīta*, a pearl-stringed *kaṭisūtra* and other ornaments. The hair is arranged in three locks, the side ones of

which fall over his shoulders. There is a well-decorated elliptical halo with a pointed end round his head. The smile on his lips gives a refreshing look to the whole figure. The peacock, the mount of Skanda, is carved at the bottom with its head turned back towards its lord. There are two flying *vidyādharas* carrying garlands in their hands, one on either side in the two top corners.

No. 2. On a loose slab now in the *jagamohana* of the Madhukeśvara temple is carved the youthful figure of two-armed Kārttikeya seated in *ardhaparyaṅka* on a throne. The right foot rests on his mount peacock. The right hand carries a fruit and rests on his knee while the left holds a spear. There is an oval halo round his head. The coiffure shows the *Sikhaṇḍaka* mode of dressing the hair in three locks, the side ones of which fall over his shoulders. He is scantily clad with a garment covering the lower part of his body upto the thighs. He wears necklaces, *udarabandha*, pearl-stringed *yajñopavīta*, chain like *kaṭisūtra*, armlets, wristlets and anklets. The peacock, realistically represented with a natural tail, is carved at the bottom with its head turned back to look at its lord. In the top corner is found a flying *vidyādhara* carrying a garland in his hand. The top left corner, on which was probably carved a similar figure, is now broken.

Durga

An image of four-armed Durgā carved on a loose slab is now placed in a small barrel-roofed shrine at the northern end of the main road of the village. She is seated in *ardhaparyaṅka* on a pedestal with her right foot resting on her mount lion which is carved at the bottom. Three of her hands carry a wheel, a conch and an indistinct object while the lower left show *abhaya*. She wears a jewelled crown and other usual ornaments. The face of the figure is, however, damaged

Mahishasuramardini

A small and much damaged image of Mahishāsuramardini carved on a loose slab is now placed in a minor shrine, called Kālī temple, in the village. She is four-armed and one of her right hands hold a trident which is seen piercing through the body of the buffalo-demon found at the bottom.

Gajalakshmi

On another loose slab now in the *jagamohana* of the Madhukeśvara temple is carved the figure of Gajalakshmi. The four-armed goddess is seen seated in *padmāsana* on a double-petalled lotus. Her upper hands carry lotuses by their stalks and the lower right shows *abhaya* while the lower left shows *varada*. She wears a conical crown, several necklaces, one of them falling in between the globular breasts and other ornaments. The lower part of her body is closely covered with a designed garment down to the feet. There is an oval halo round her head. The slim figure has an elongated face with a pointed chin. The elephants carved in the two top corners face each other and lift their trunks above the head of the goddess.

Sarasvati

Carved on another loose slab now in the *jagamohana* of the Madhukeśvara temple is the image of four-armed Sarasvati seated in *sukhāsana* on a double-petalled lotus. Her upper hands carry a manuscript and a white lotus while the lower hands hold a *vīṇā* resting on her left shoulder with the fingers playing on it. The smiling face reflects her delight in playing on the musical instrument. She wears a crown, a pearl-stringed *yajñopavīta*, necklaces and other ornaments. The hair is arranged with a heavy knot at the top. The lower part of her body is covered with a garment. There is a circular halo round her head. A lotus is carved in the top right corner.

Female deities

No. 1. An image of a female deity is found in a field near the left bank of the river. The portion below the knees of the figure is now in the ground. She is seen standing in a graceful pose and holding a fruit in her right hand and an indistinct object in the left hand. There is an oval halo round her head. On the right are found four female figures, two at the bottom and other two above them. One of the females is represented in an emaciated form with a shrunken belly.

No. 2. An image of a female deity carved on a loose slab is found in a field to the north-west of the village. The figure is broken and partly in the ground. She is six-armed and seated in *sukhāsana*. One of her right hands rests on the knee and the natural left hand carries a skull (?). The remaining hands are either damaged or broken. The face and breasts of the figure are also damaged. The hair is arranged with a big knot at the top. There is an oval halo round her head.

Navagrahas

A broken lintel of a doorway is found in a field near the Someśvara temple. On it are found carved the figures of only three planets, namely, Sani, Rahu and Ketu; the first six of the navagrahas being missing. Sani is seated in *padmāsana* on a pedestal. His right hand holds an indistinct object while the left is broken. Rahu is represented in half-bust from and is fierce-looking. He is seen extending forward his palms. The figure is slightly damaged. Ketu is seen seated on a pedestal with his hands in *añjali*. He is depicted with emaciated body and shrunken belly (?). Flames raise from above his shoulders behind his head.

Nagaraja

In the *jagamohana* of the Madhukeśvara temple there is also another sculpture carved fully in the round depicting the human bust of Nāgaraja conopied under a nine-hooded snake. The princely figure holds a vase in his hands; the right hand is now missing. The hair is well-combed and arranged in coiled locks with a big knot at the top. Some of the locks fall over his shoulders. He wears a crown, necklaces, a pearl-stringed *yajñopavīta* and other ornaments.

GLOSSARY

abhaṅga —a double-flexured standing pose ; the standing pose in which the plumb-line or the centre line, from the crown of the head to a point midway between the heels, passes slightly to the right of the navel.

abhayamudra —a hand pose to convey assurance. It consists in holding the hand up with the palm showing up.

Āgama —any sacred literature ; generally applied to the ritualistic texts belonging to Śiva and Vishnu.

akshamāla —rosary of beads.

āmalaka —crowning member of a temple in the shape of a flat disc.

āmla —see *āmalaka*.

ālasakanya —idle girl, belle, lazy beauty.

añjalimudra —a hand pose in which the palms of the hands are kept close to each other and the folded hands are made to rest on the chest.

aṅkuśa —a goad.

antarāla —vestibule.

anuratha-paga —a vertical projection, in Orissan temple.

apsaras —celestial nymphs.

archaka —a priest.

ardhaparyaṅkasāna —a seated posture "in which one leg, usually the left, is tucked upon the seat, while the right one dangles down along it".

āsana —a seat ; a seated posture,

āyudhā —weapon.

bada —cubical portion of a temple upto the roof or tower.

bāṇa —arrow.

baraṇḍa —the moulding which separates the wall portion from the roof or tower.

beki —neck ; the cylindrical stone below the *āmla* in the finial of a building,

bhaṅgas —deflexions of parts of human frame.

bhog-mandir —hall of offerings ; sacrificial pavilion (in a temple).

bhūmi-āmla —miniature *amalaka* found in the angles of the *sikhara*, in *Nagara* style.

bhūmi-baraṇḍi —horizontal division of a tower.

biṣama —topmost moulding of the *gaṇḍi* which separates the tatter from *mastaka*.

chaitya —Buddhist sanctuary.

chakra —wheel ; the discus of Vishnu ; one of his four emblems ; sacred wheel of the Law (Bhddhist).

chatura —a mode of dance of Śiva, popular in north India and the Deccan.

chauri —fly-whisk.

ḍamarru —miniature drum.

darpaṇa —mirror.

deul —a temple ; a sanctuary (used in Bengal and Orissa).

dhanus —bow

dharmachakrapravartana-mudra —the posture symbolizing the turning of the wheel of Law (Buddhist) ; the combined representation of *jñana-mudra* and *vyākhyana-mudra*, the left hand being in the former and the right in the latter.

dhvaja-staṁbha —flagstaff or pillar in front of the temple.

dhyāna-mudra —*yoga mudra*.

drāviḍa style —south Indian style of temple aschitecture.

dvārāpāla —a door-keeper.

gadā —club.

gaṇḍi —trunk of the tower.

garbha-griha —literally, a womb-house ; cella of a temple ; the inner sanctum.

garuḍa —a divine eagle, the vehicle of Vishnu.

ghaṇṭa —beli.

gopura —tower surmounting a gate.

hasta —hand-pose.

jagamohana —assembly hall in Orissan temple.

jaṅgha —wall portion.

jātakas —stories of Buddha's former births.

jaṭāmukuṭa —crown made up of twists of matted hair done into the form of a tall cap.

jñana-mudra —a hand pose in which "the tips of the middle finger and of the thumb are joined together and held near the heart with the palm of the hand turned towards the heart".

kalaśa —vase, an ornamental pot found in finials and capitals.

kaṇika-paga —the outermost vertical projection, in Orissan temple.

kapāla —human skull

kaṭaka-hasta	—pose of the hand wherein the tips of the fingers are loosely applied to the thumb so as to form a ring.
kaṭi-hasta or kaṭya-valambita-hasta	—a hand-pose in which "the arm is let down so as to hang by the side of the body, and the hand is made to rest on the loin, indicating thus a posture of ease".
kaṭisūtra	—the belt going round the hip.
khaḍga	—sword.
khepuri	—skull; found in finial.
kirīṭamukuṭa	—jewelled and conical-shaped crown.
kīrttimukha	—literally, "face of fame" ; grotesque mask, a decorative motif showing the grinning face of a lion.
kukkuṭa	—cock
kuṇḍalas	—ear ornaments.
kūrma	—tortoise, mount of Yamuna.
lalitākshepa	—see *ārdhaparyaṅka*.
linga	—phallus ; a cylindrical stone ; an iconographic form of Śiva.
makara	—crocodile, mount of Ganga
maṇḍapa	—porch.
mānusha-linga	—man-made *linga*.
mastaka	—crowning part of the tower.
mithuna	—a couple ; pairs of lovers.
mriga	—deer.
mudra	—hand-pose.
mukhamaṇḍapa	—a pillared hall in front of a shrine, the frontal porch.
nāga	—a serpent, a cobra ; a mythical creature, half-serpent and half-human.
Nagara	—North Indian style of temple architecture.
nāgini	—the female counterpart of '*naga*'.
Nandi	—bull, Śiva's mount.
nandi-maṇḍapa	—pavilion containing the image of Nandi.
naṭ-mandir	—dancing hall
Navagraha	—nine planets.
nīlotpala	—blue lily
Pābhāga	—base.
padma	—lotus
padmāsana	—lotus throne ; a sitting posture with crossed legs and with the feet resting on thighs.
pāga	—pilaster-like projection.
panchāyatana	—temple consisting of five shrines.
paraśu	—battle-axe.
pāśa	—noose
piḍha	—platform, tier.

piḍha-deul	—temple with a terraced roof, in Orissa.
prabhāmaṇḍala	—a circular halo that is shown close to the head.
prabhāvalī	—a ring of light that surrounds the whole person of a god.
pradakshiṇa	—circumambulation.
pradakshiṇāpatha	—path of circumambulation.
prākāra	—enclosure
raha-paga	—central projection, in Orissan temple.
ratha	—literally, a car or chariot, a monolithic shrine ; temple conceived as a chariot ; pilaster-like projection.
rekha-deul	—a sanctuary with a curvilinear tower, in Orissa.
śakti	—spear.
samabhaṅga	—a standing pose in which the right and left of the figure are disposed symmetrically.
saṅghārāma	—monastery (Buddhist).
śankha	—conch-shell, emblem of Vishnu.
sānthagara	—meeting hall.
śikhara	—tower over the sanctum.
stūpa	—a Buddhist funeral mound, which gradually developed into a dome-like structure, containing the ashes or relics of holy men. Often surrounded by a stone railing.
sukhāsana	—a sitting posture in which "one leg, generally the left one, rests flat on the seat while the right knee is raised upwards from it and the right arm is stretched out on the raised knee".
svayambhū-linga	—a natural stone, not made by human hand, worshipped as *linga*, the symbol of Śiva.
tāṇḍavā	—a mode of dance of Siva, popular in south India.
tantra	—esoteric doctrine.
toraṇa	—gateway ; archway.
tribhaṅga	—a triple-flexured standing pose ; "the standing pose in which the centre line passes through the left (or right) pupil, the middle of the chest, the left (or right) of the navel, down to the heels and the lower limbs from the hips to the feet, are displaced to the right (or left) of the figure, the trunk between the hips and neck, to the left (or right) while the head leans towards the right or (left)".
triśūla	—trident, emblem of Siva.
vaḍḍhapadmāśana	—similar to *pqdmāsana.*
vajra	—thunderbolt.
varada-mudra	—a hand-pose indicating charity; "in this pose the palm of the left hand, with the fingers pointing downwards is exposed to the observer, either as fully opened and empty saor lightly carrying a small bolus ".

vesara	—a style of temple architecture with a blend of north and south Indian elements.
vidyādharas	—a class of demi-gods celestial flying angels, represented usually floating without wings often shown carrying garlands.
vimāna	—cubical portion of the sanctum.
vīṇā	—a musical instrument.
vyākhyāna-mudra	—a hand-pose signifying exposition; "in this hand-pose the tips of the thumb and the fore-finger are made to touch each other, so as to form a circle, the other fingers being kept open. The palm of the hand is made to face the front".
yajñopavīta	—sacred thread worn across the shoulder.
yoga-mudrā	—a hand-pose signifying meditation; "in the *yoga-mudra*, the palm of the right hand is placed in that of the left hand and both together are laid on the crossed legs of the seated image".

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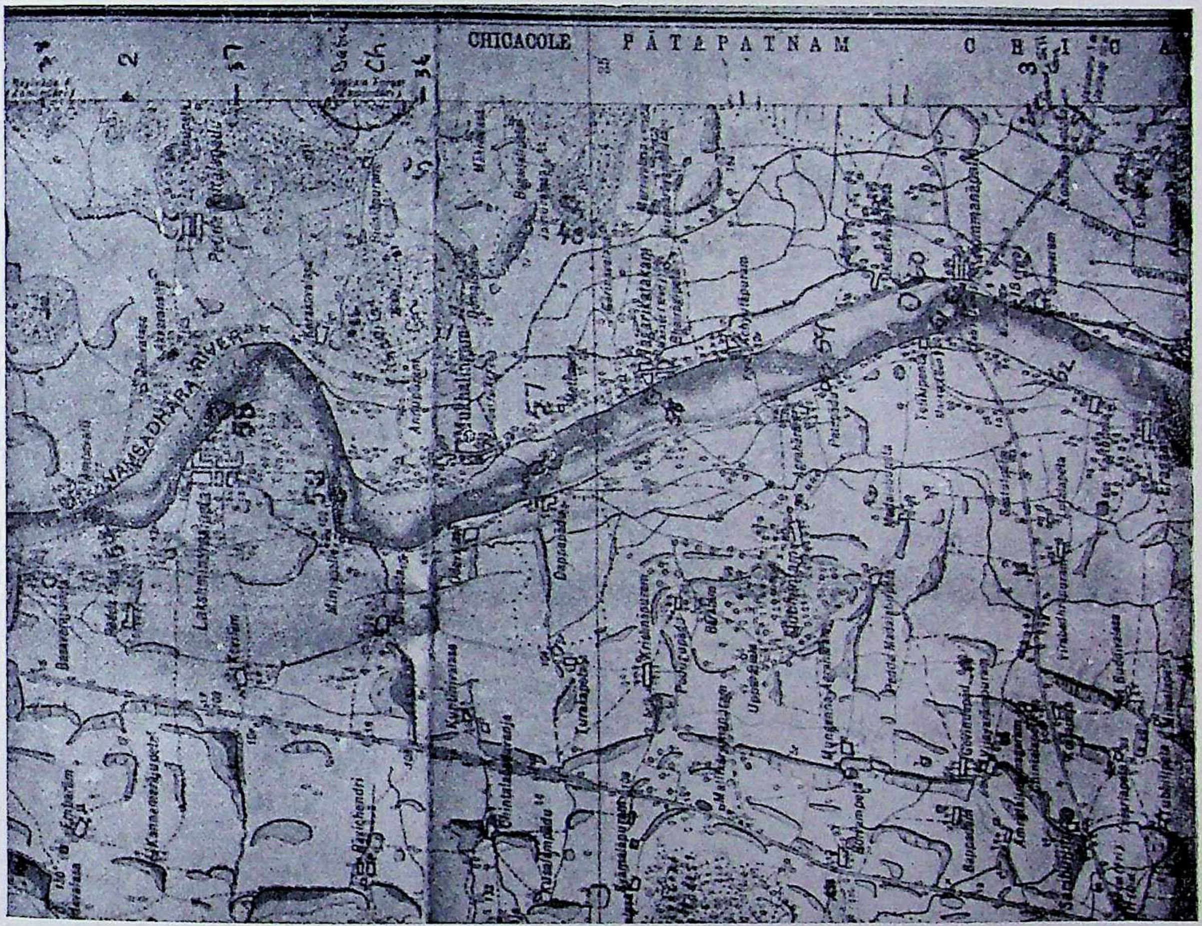
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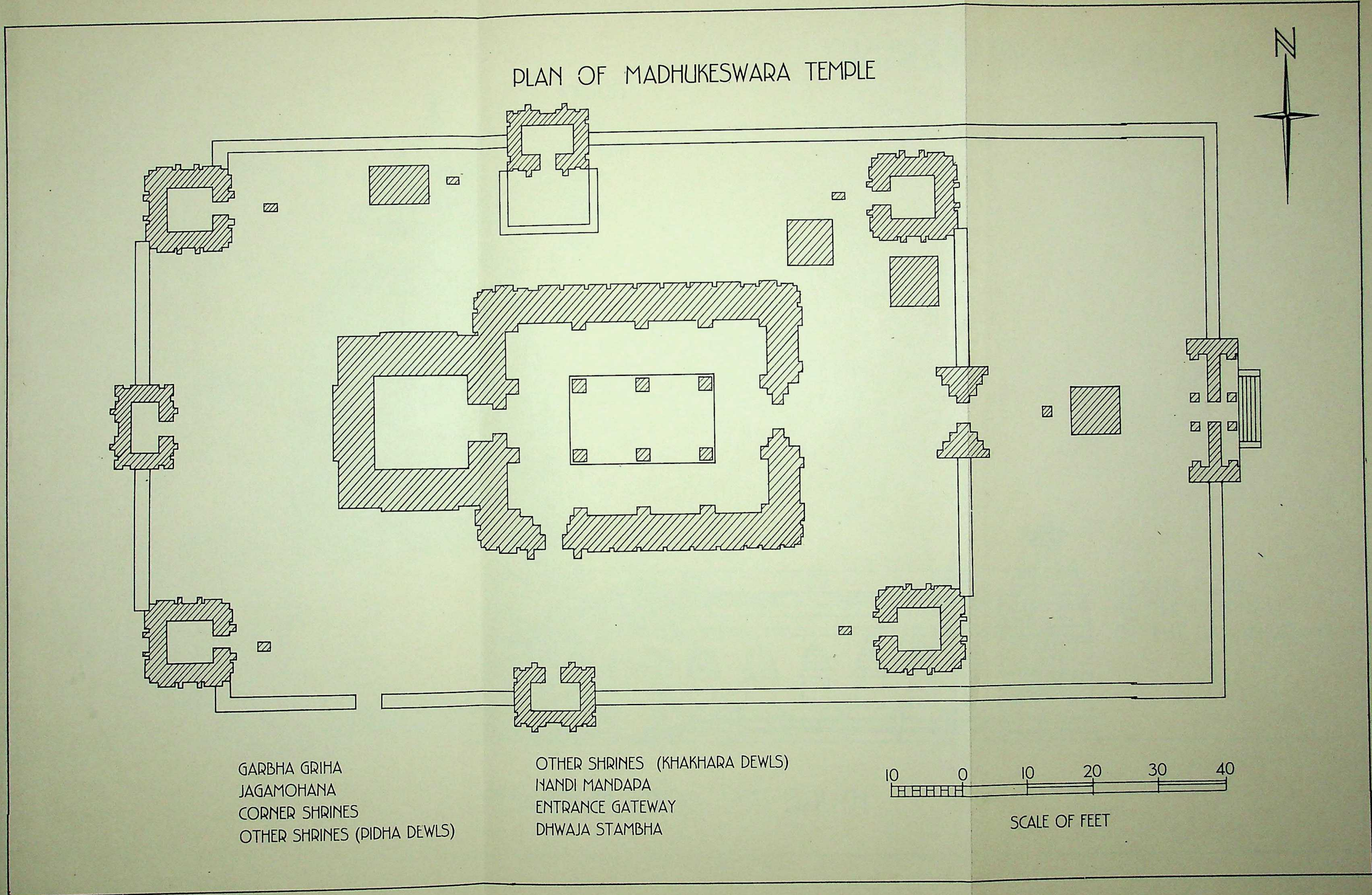
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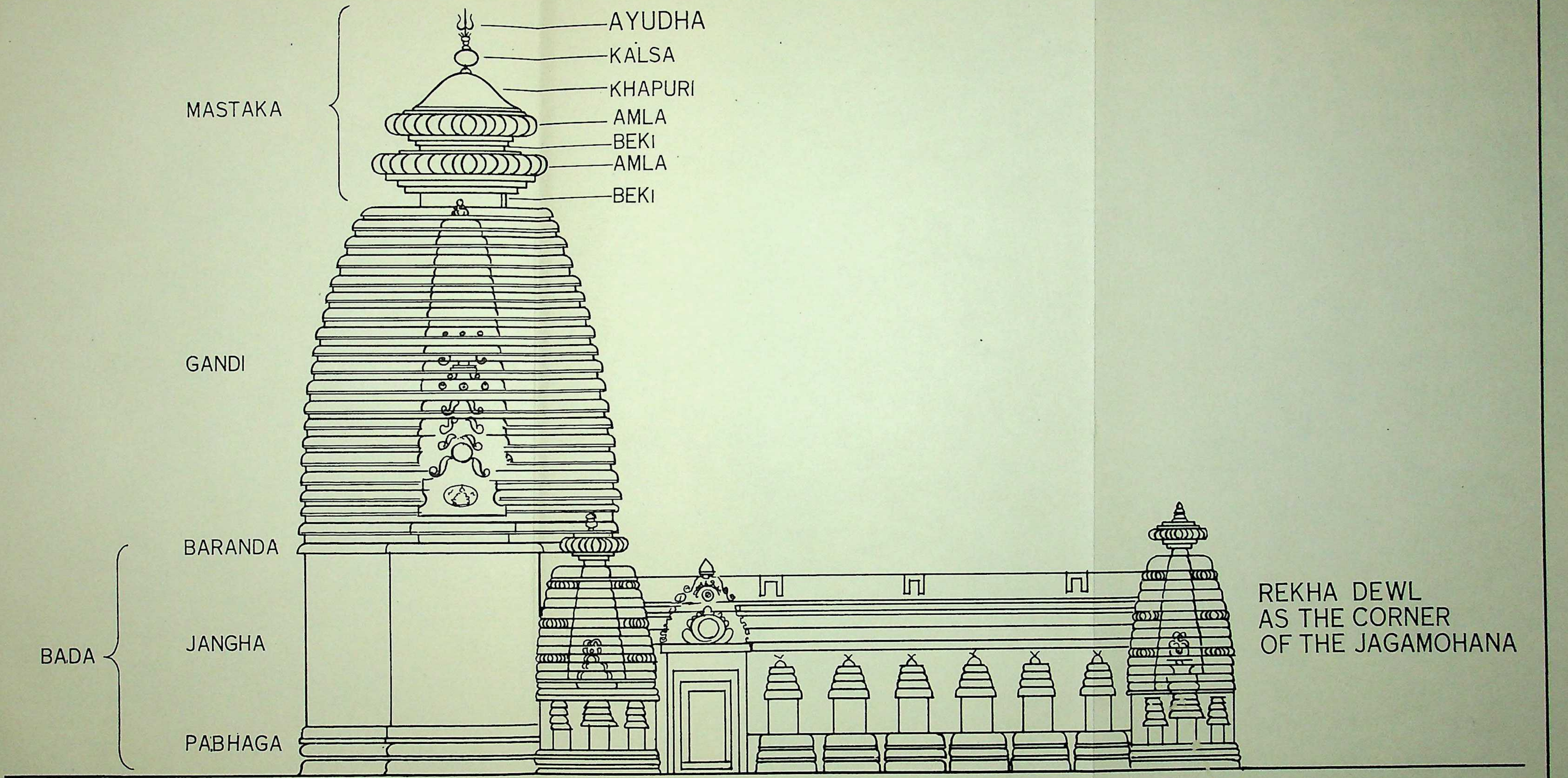


Location Map of Mukhalingam

PLAN OF MADHUKESWARA TEMPLE

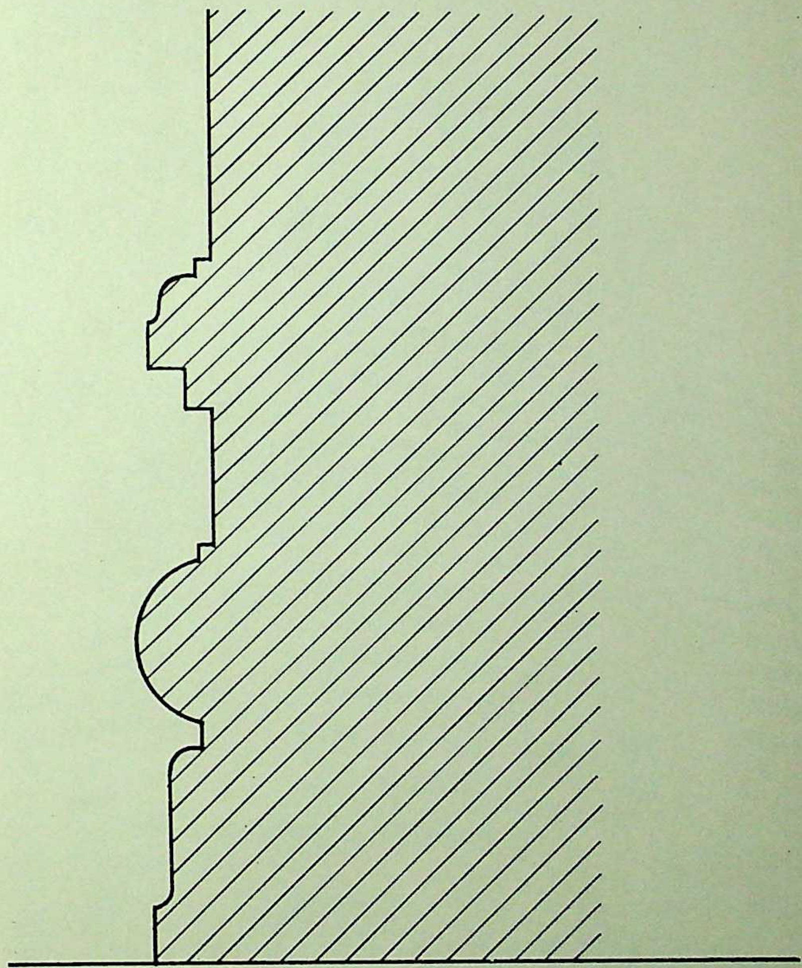


MADHUKESWARA TEMPLE

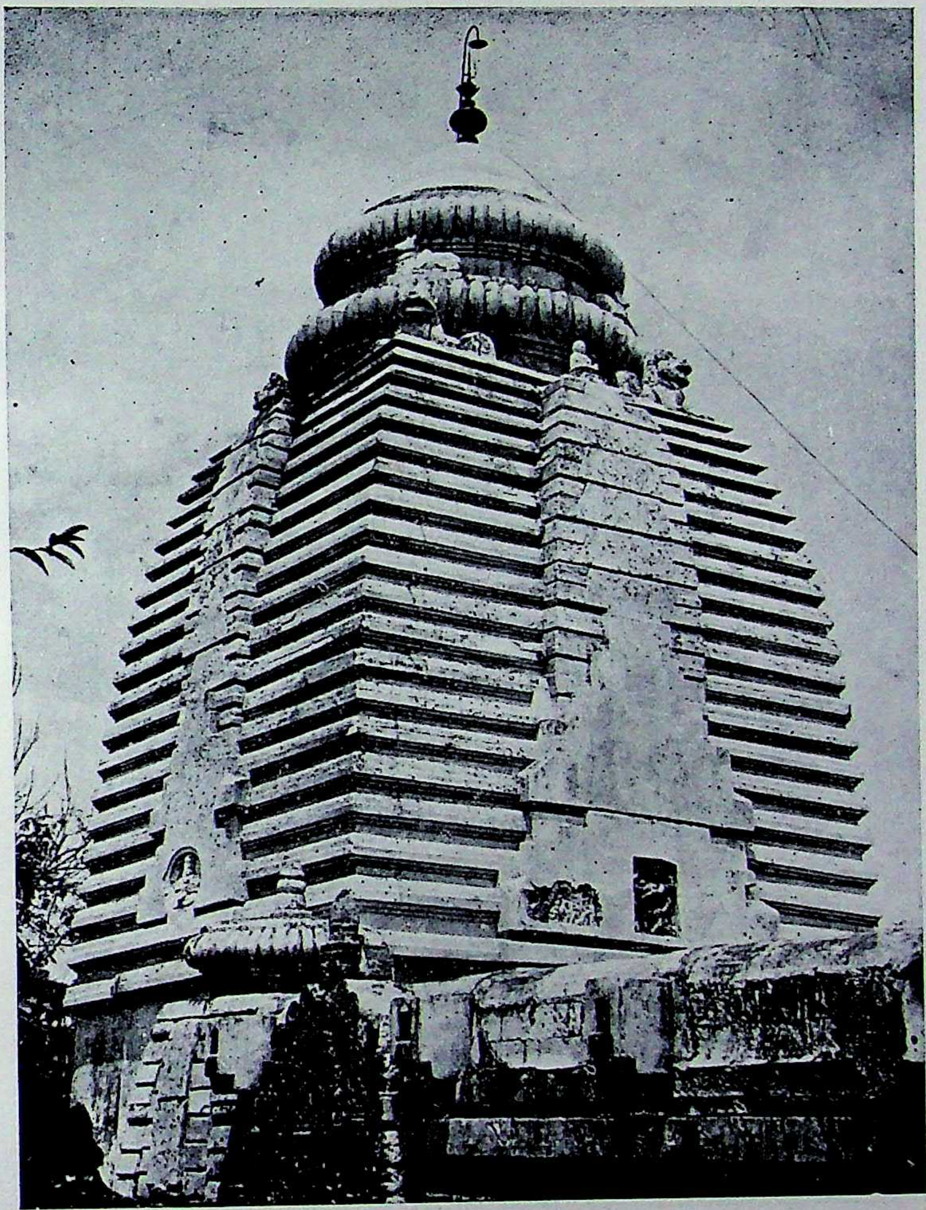


ELEVATION FROM THE SOUTH

MADHUKESWARA TEMPLE



SECTION OF BASE MOULDINGS OF CENTRAL SHRINE

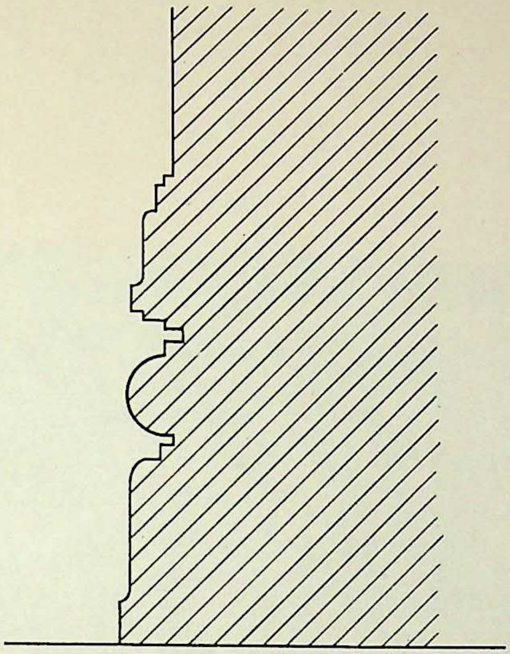


Tower (Madhukesvara)



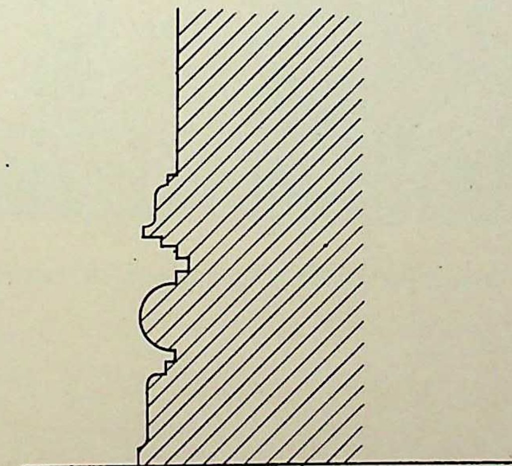
Nagaraja (Madhukesvara)

MADHUKESWARA TEMPLE



SECTION OF BASE MOULDINGS OF
JAGAMOHANA NORTH WALL

MADHUKESWARA TEMPLE



SECTION OF BASE MOULDINGS OF NORTH-EAST CORNER
REKHA OF JAGAMOHANA

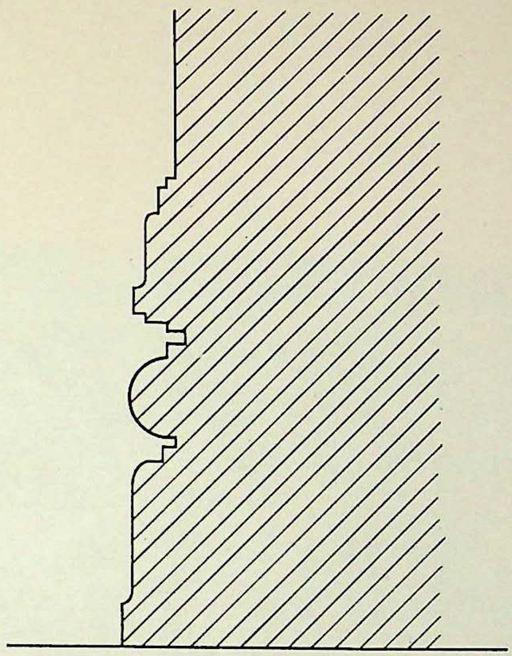


East Doorway of Jagamohana (Madhukesvara)



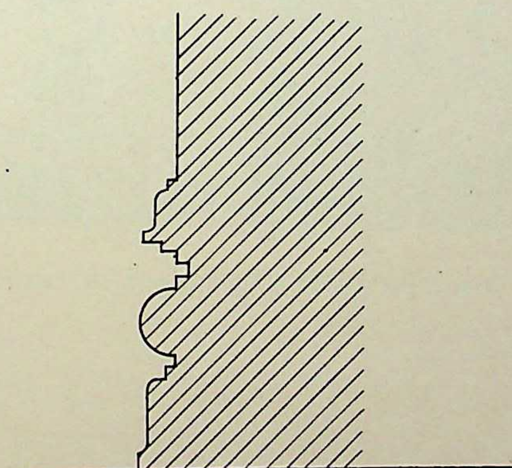
South Doorway of Jagamohana (Madhukesvara)

MADHUKESWARA TEMPLE

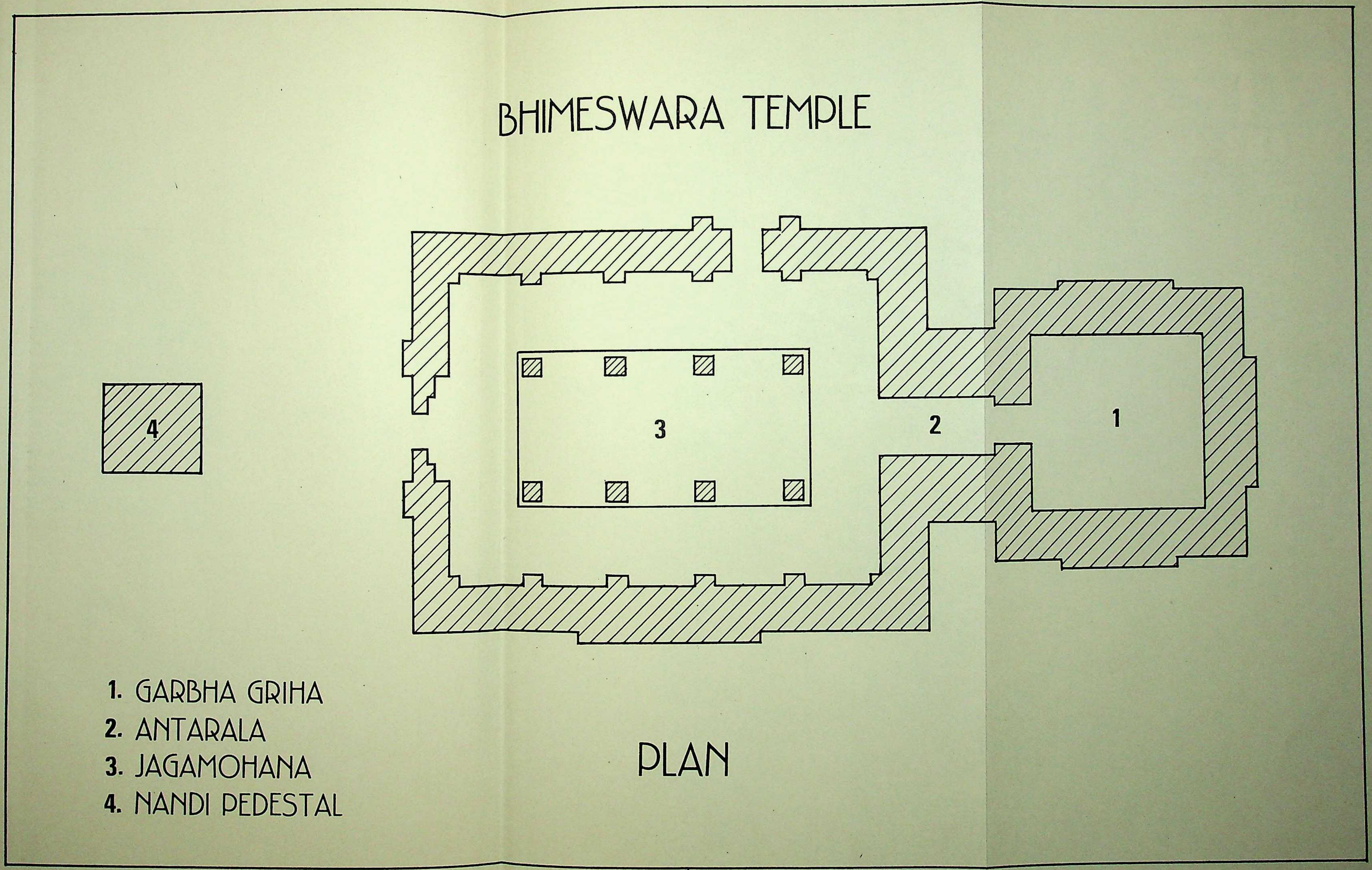


SECTION OF BASE MOULDINGS OF
JAGAMOHANA NORTH WALL

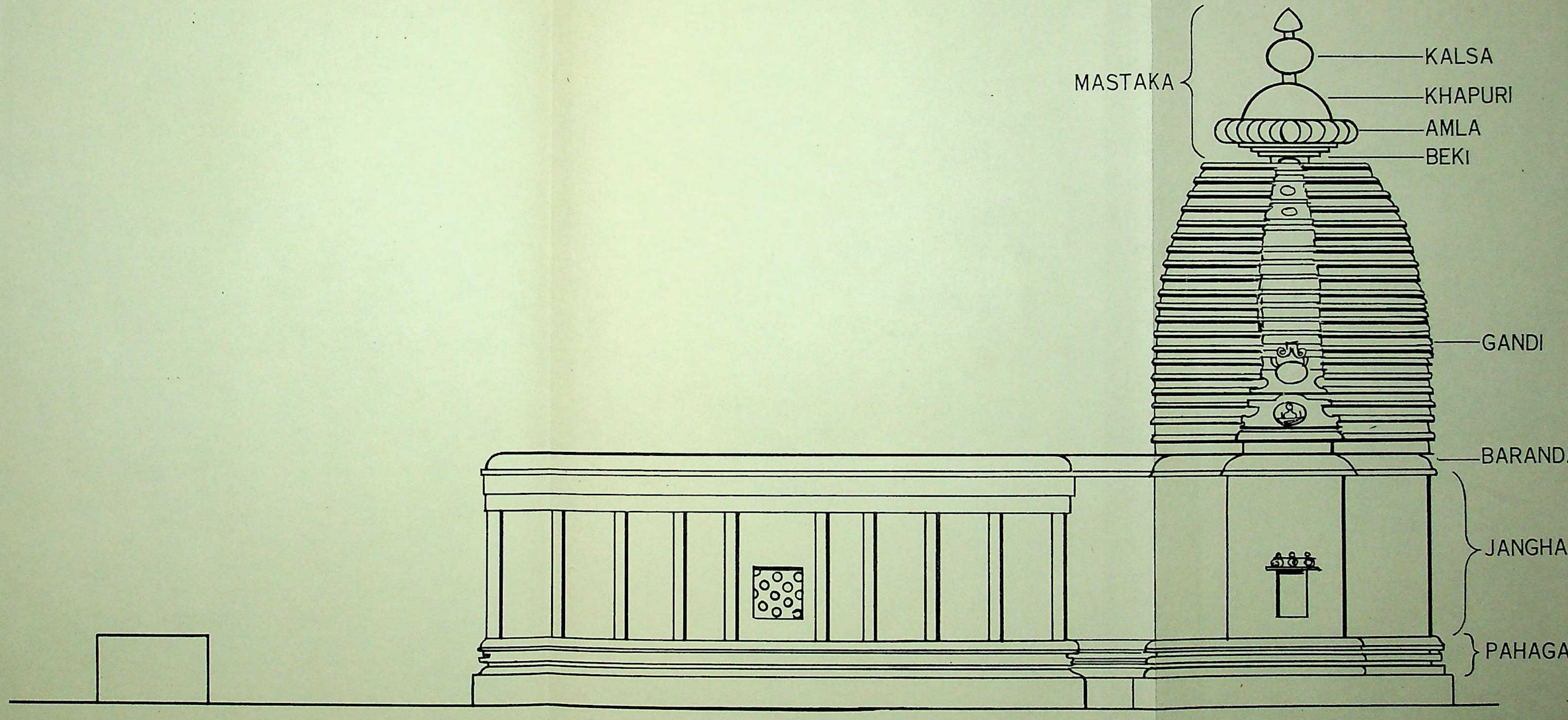
MADHUKESWARA TEMPLE



SECTION OF BASE MOULDINGS OF NORTH-EAST CORNER
REKHA OF JAGAMOHANA


BHIMESWARA TEMPLE
4
3
2
1
1. GARBHA GRIHA
2. ANTARALA
3. JAGAMOHANA
4. NANDI PEDESTAL
PLAN

BHIMESWARA TEMPLE



ELEVATION FROM THE NORTH

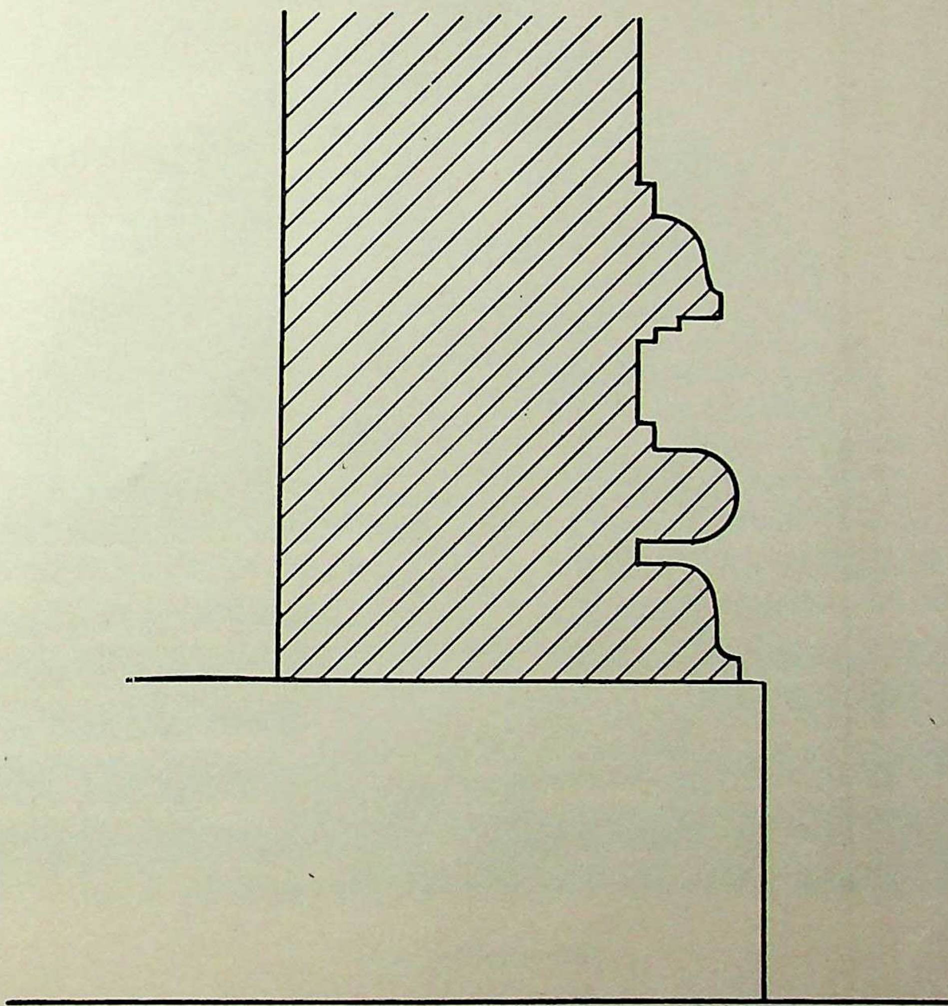


Nandis in Front of the Bhimesvara Temple

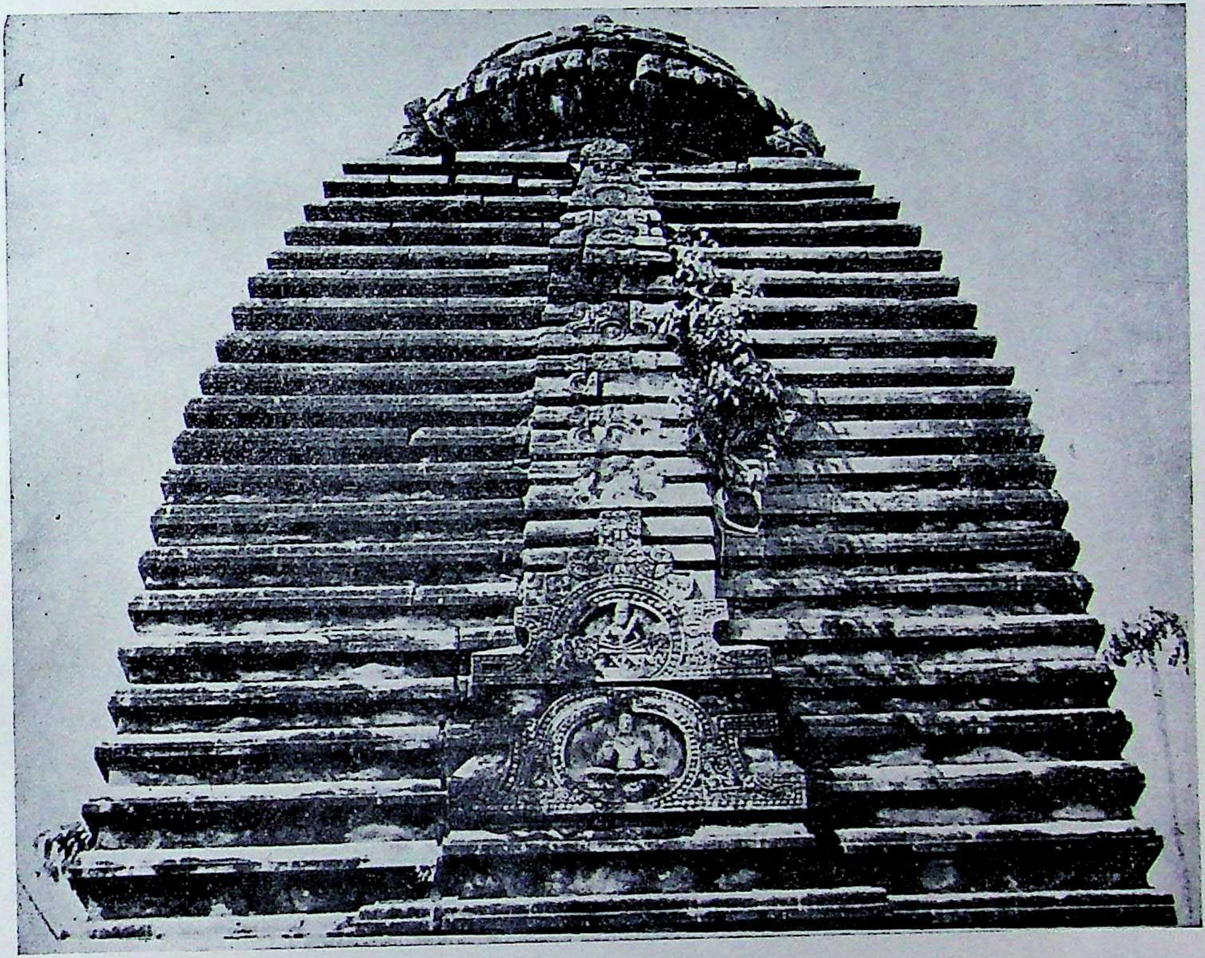


Deul (Bhimesvara)

BHIMESWARA TEMPLE

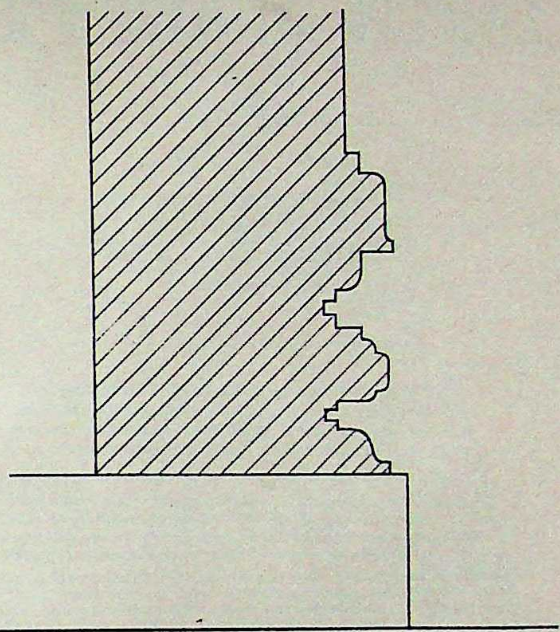


SECTION OF BASE MOULDINGS OF CENTRAL SHRINE



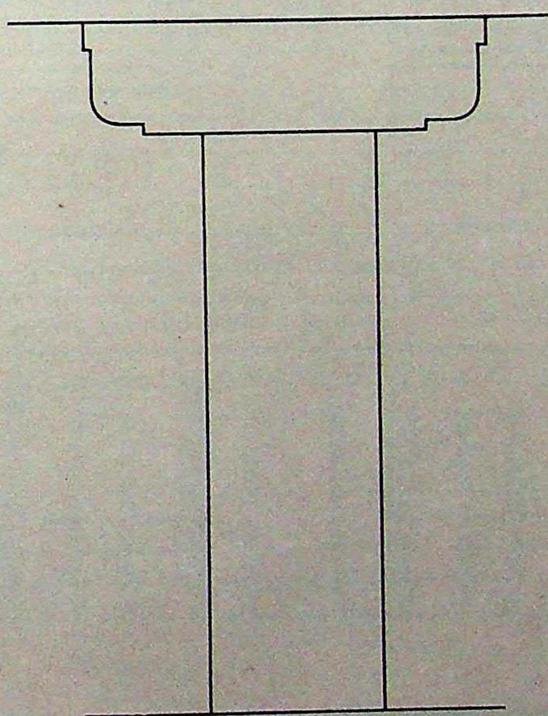
Tower (Bhimesvara)

BHIMESWARA TEMPLE



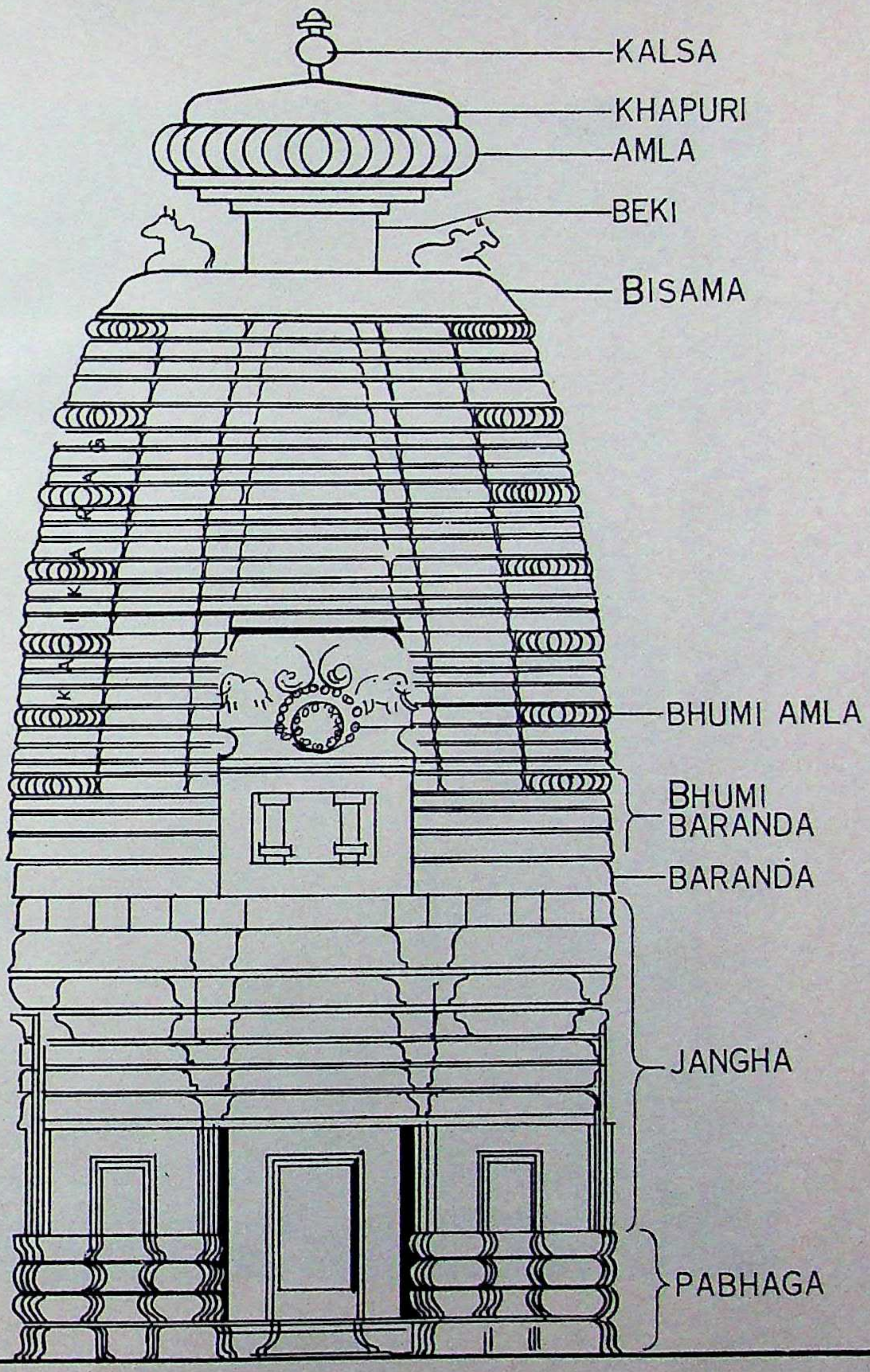
SECTION OF BASE MOULDINGS OF JAGAMOHANA

BHIMESWARA TEMPLE · A PILLAR IN THE JAGAMOHANA



DETAIL OF SHAFT AND CAPITAL

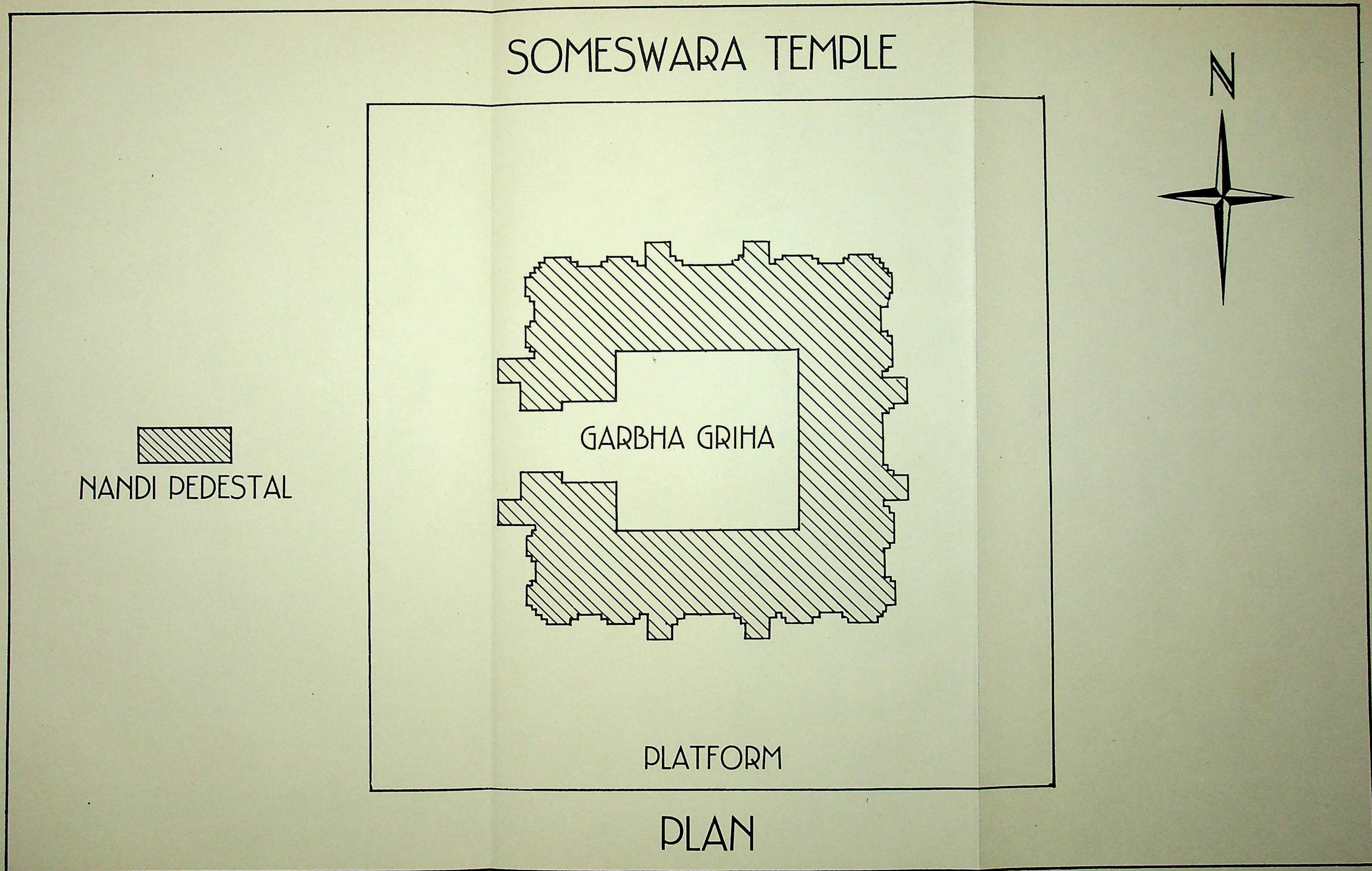
SOMESWARA TEMPLE



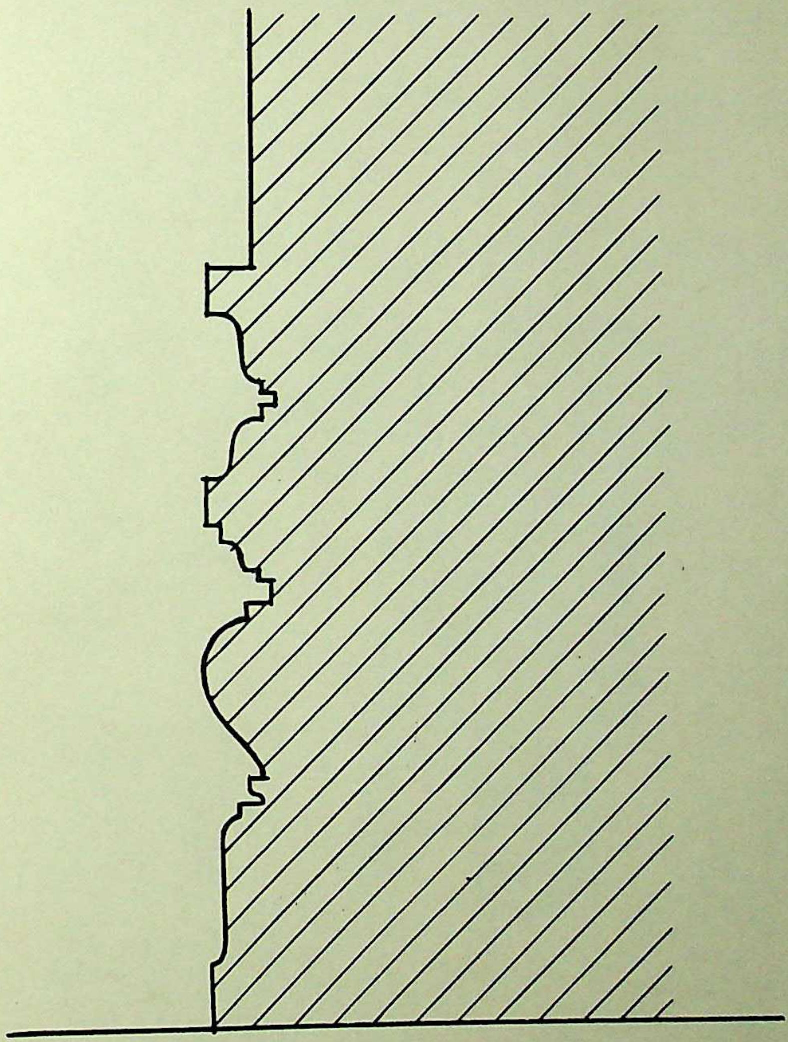
ELEVATION FROM THE EAST



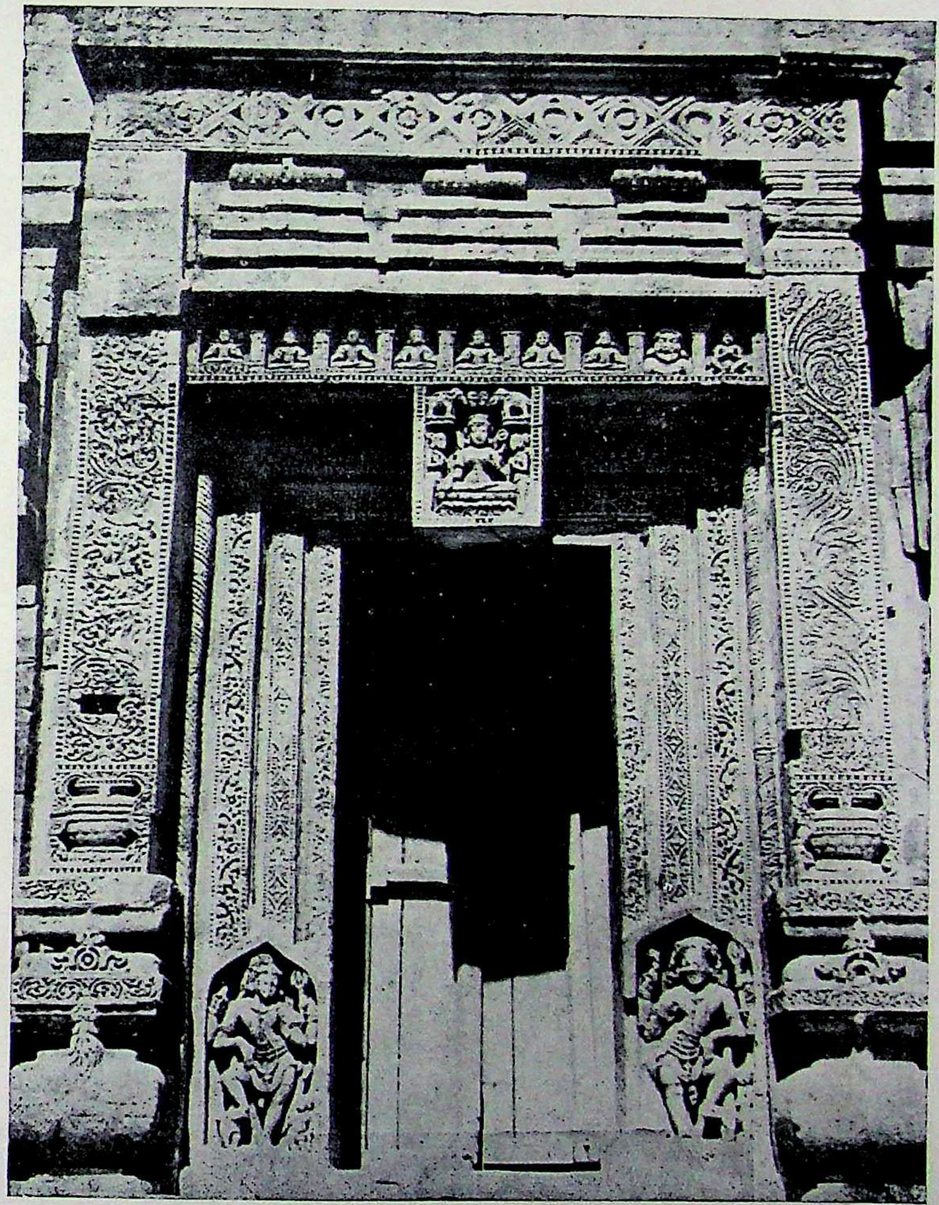
Deul (Somesvara)


SOMESWARA TEMPLE
N
NANDI PEDESTAL
GARBHA GRIHA
PLATFORM
PLAN

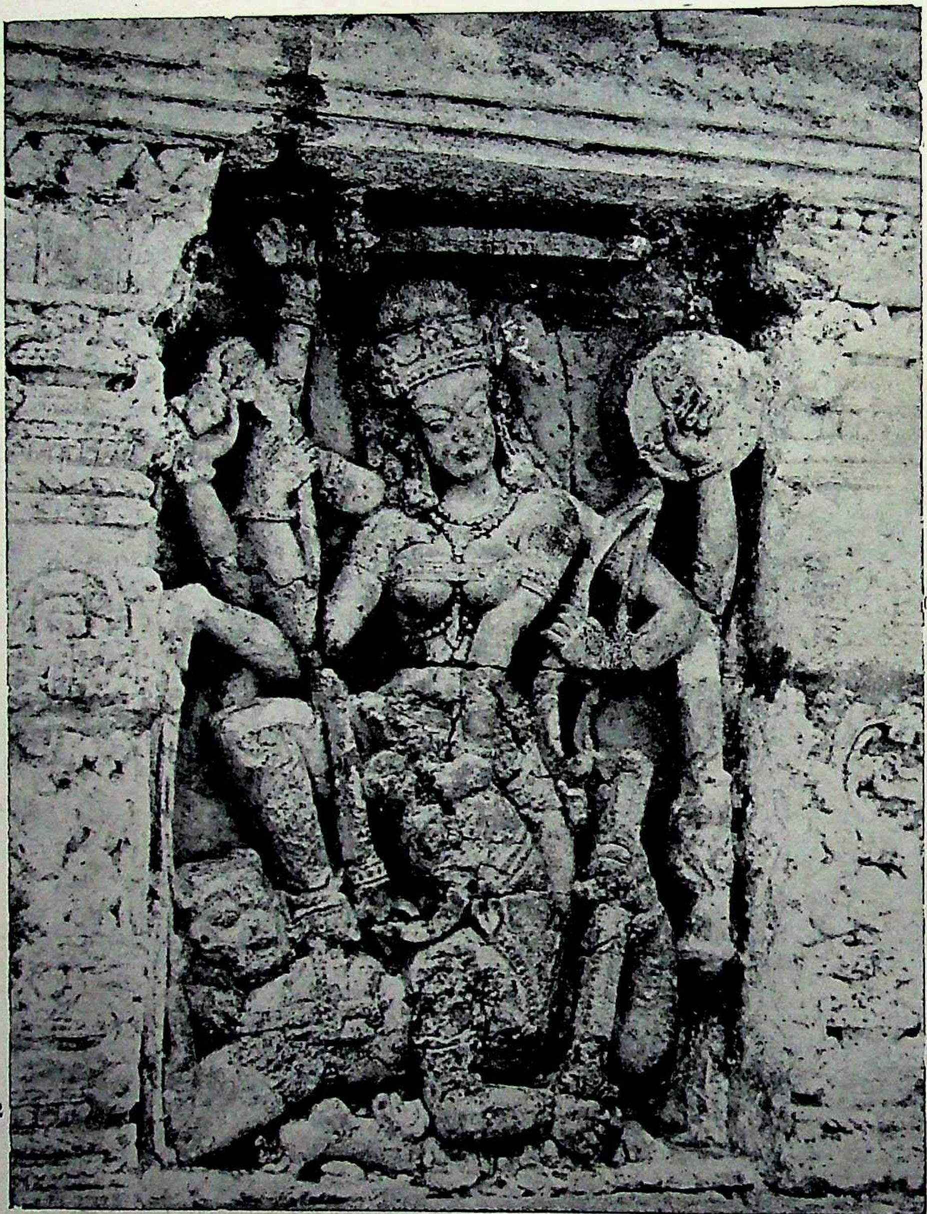
SOMESWARA TEMPLE



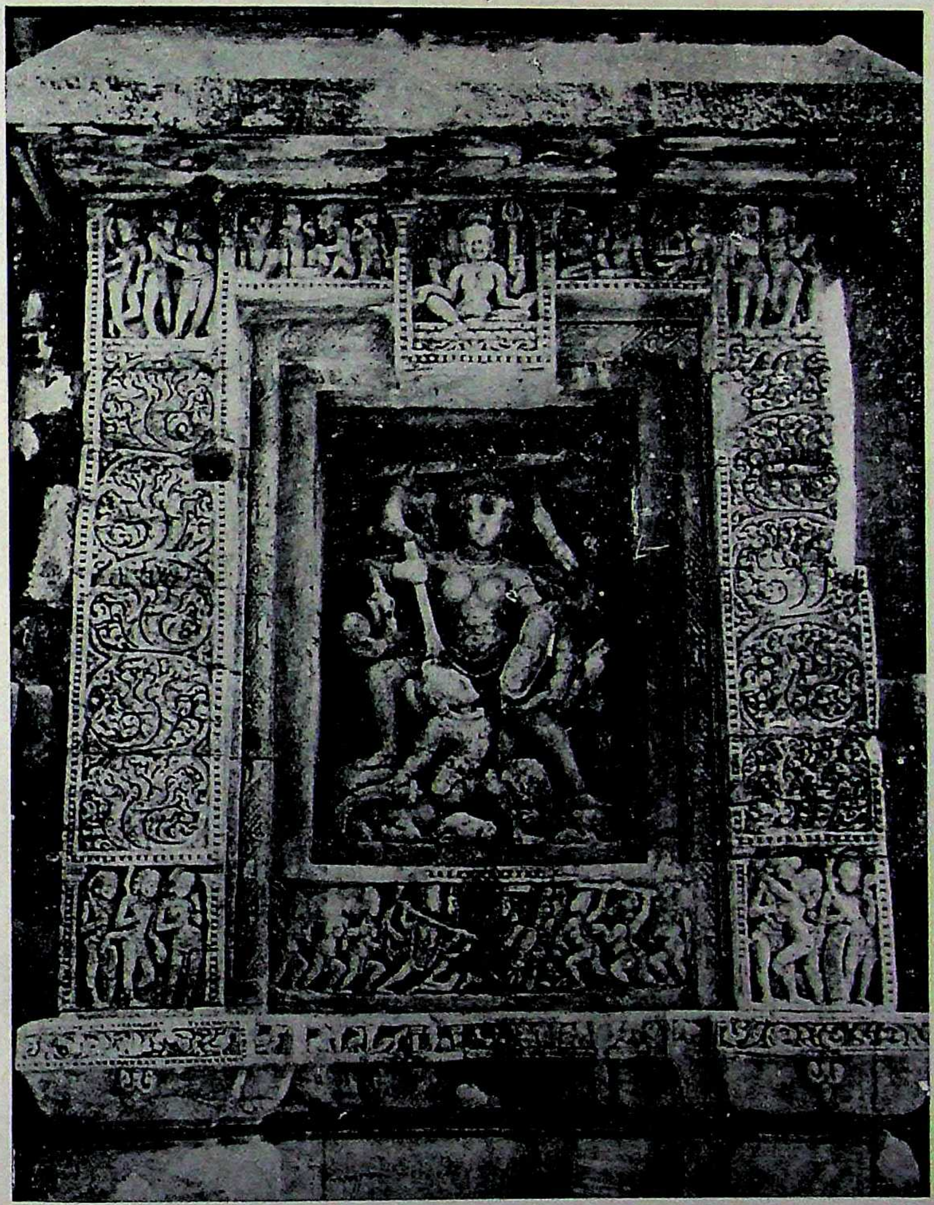
SECTION OF BASE MOULDINGS OF CENTRAL SHRINE



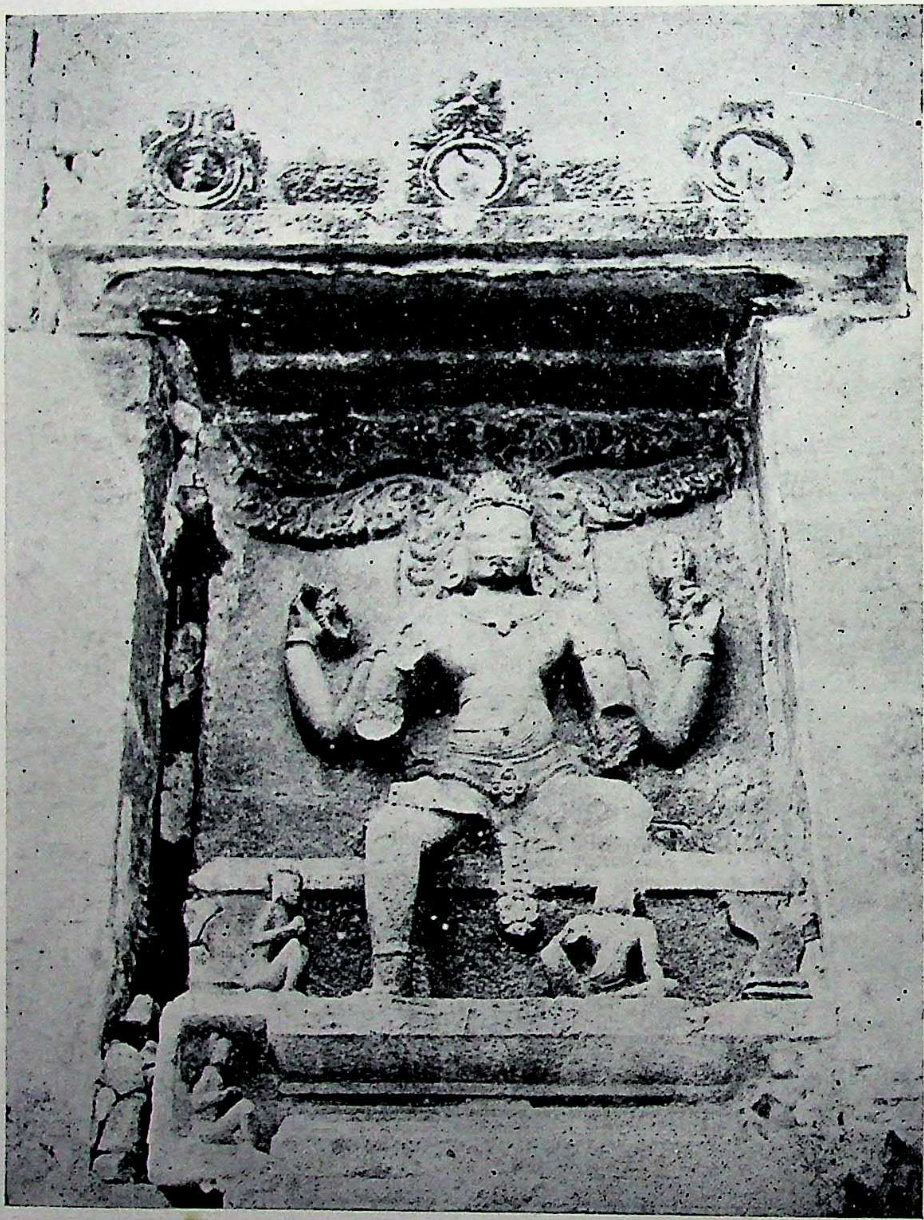
Doorway of the Deul (Somesvara)



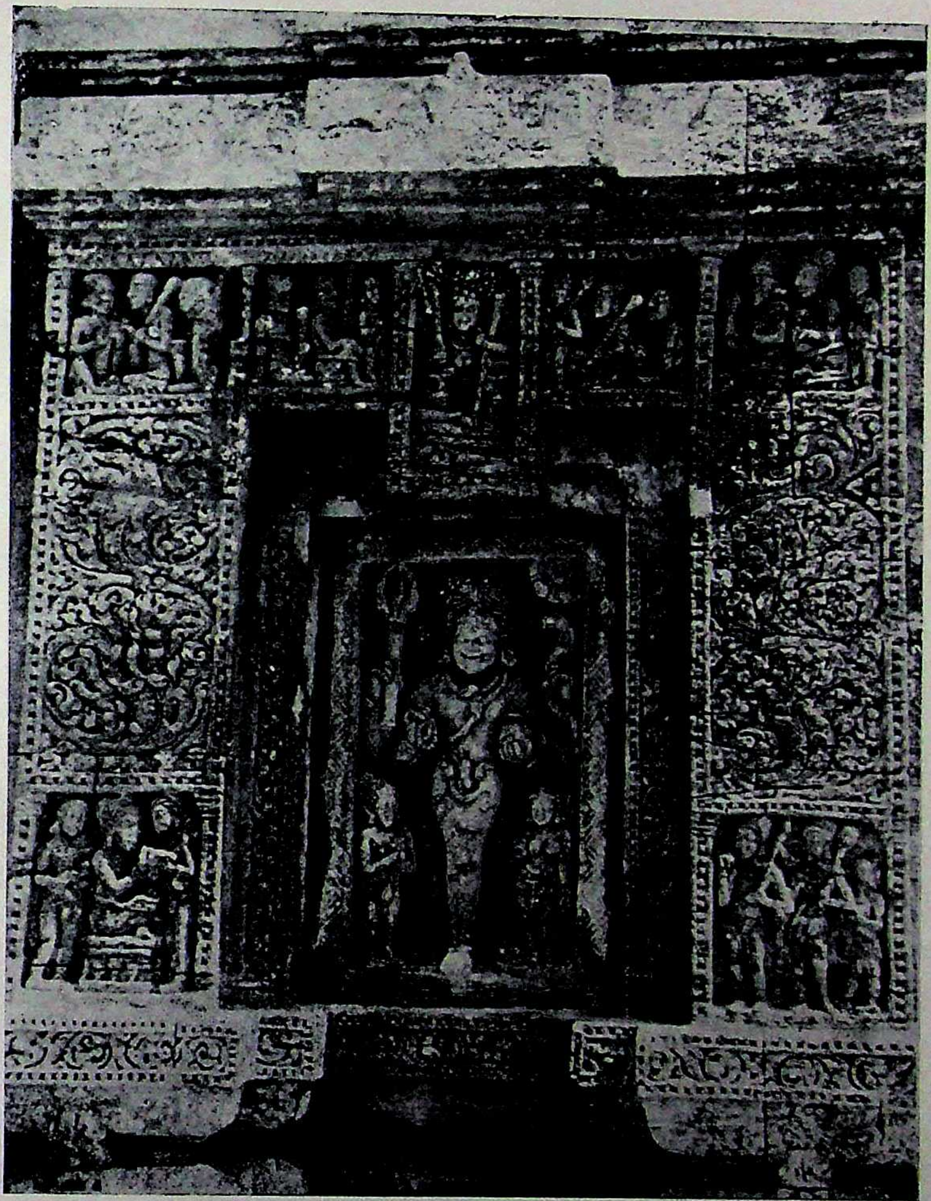
Mahishasuramarini (Madhukesvara)



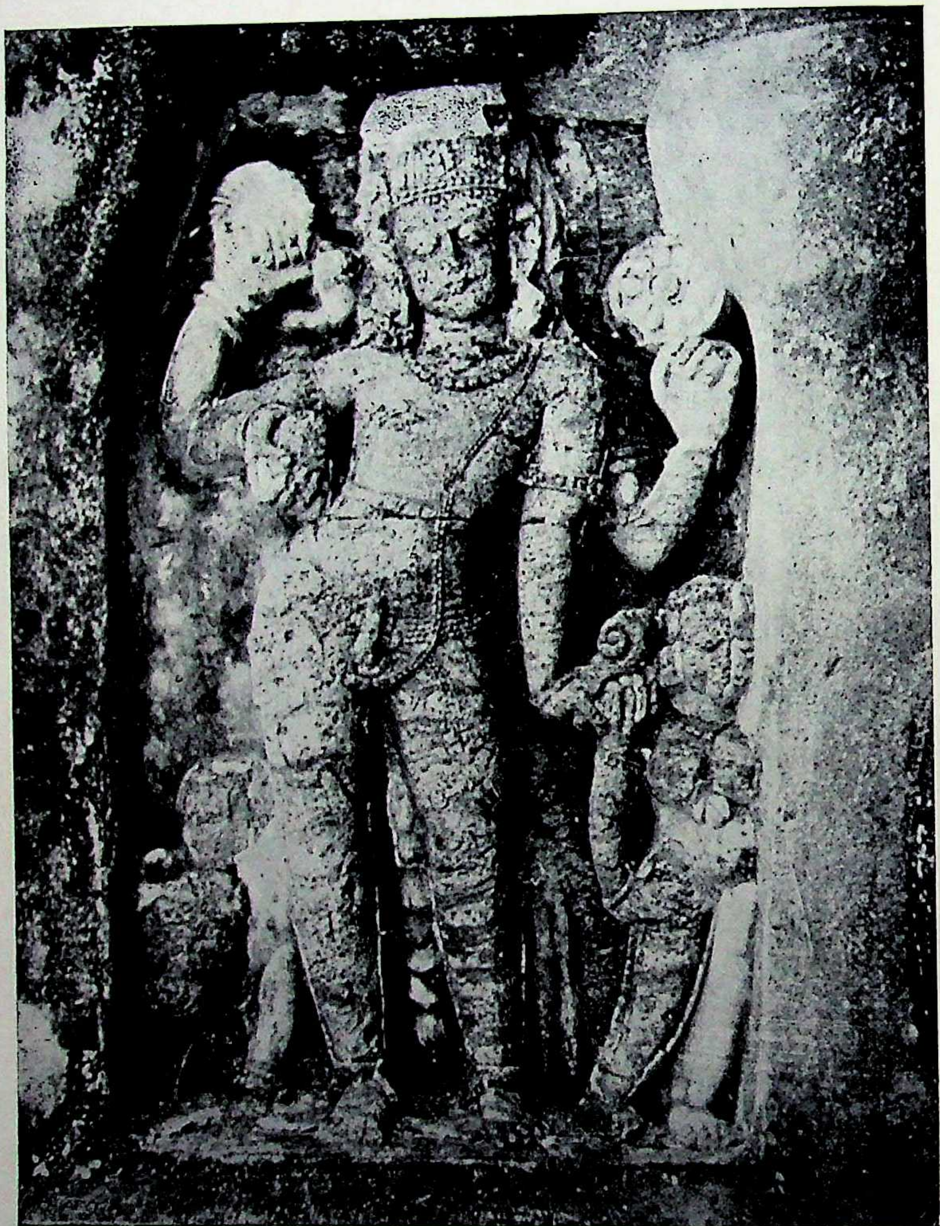
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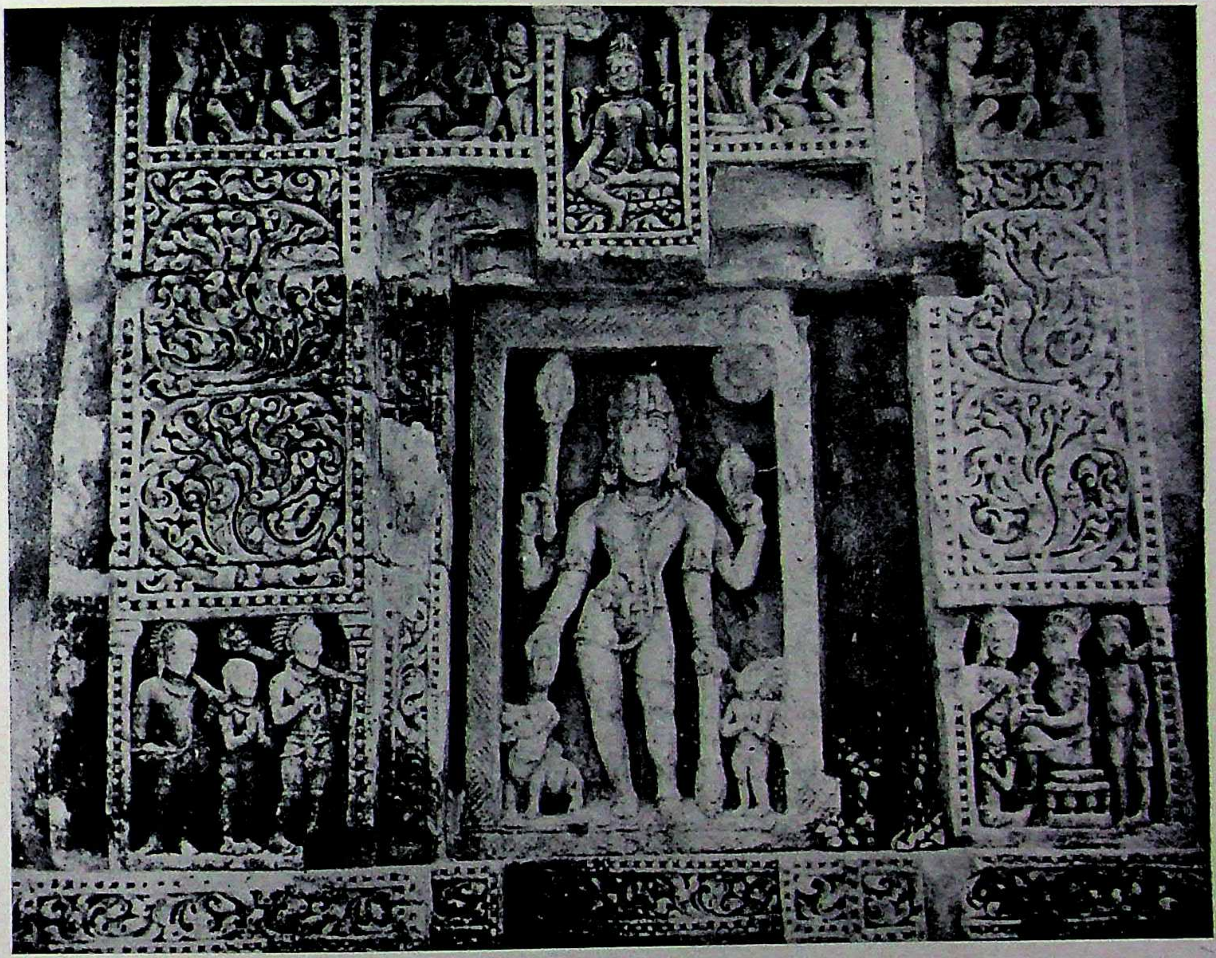
Vyakyana Dakshinamurthi (Bhimesvara)



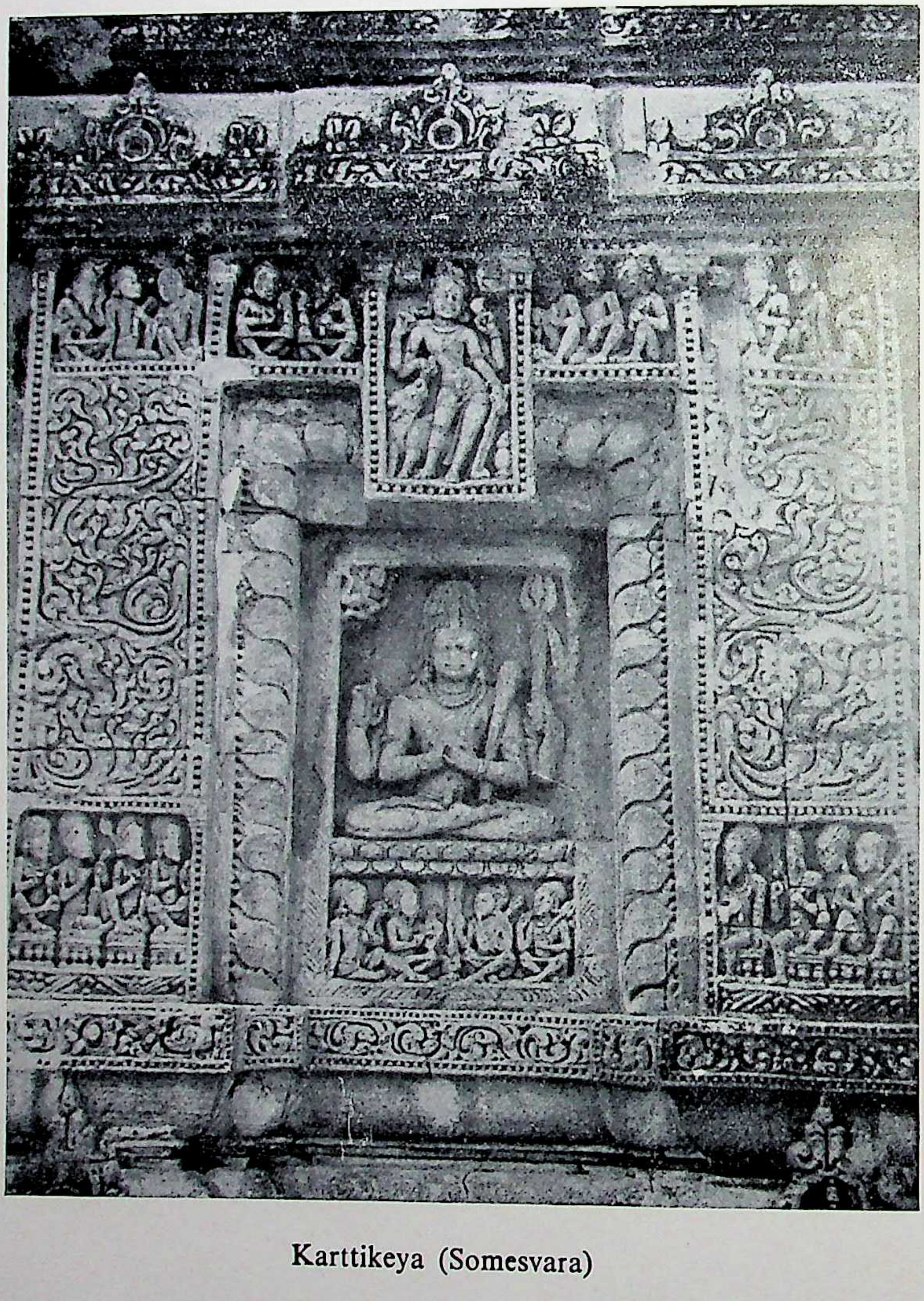
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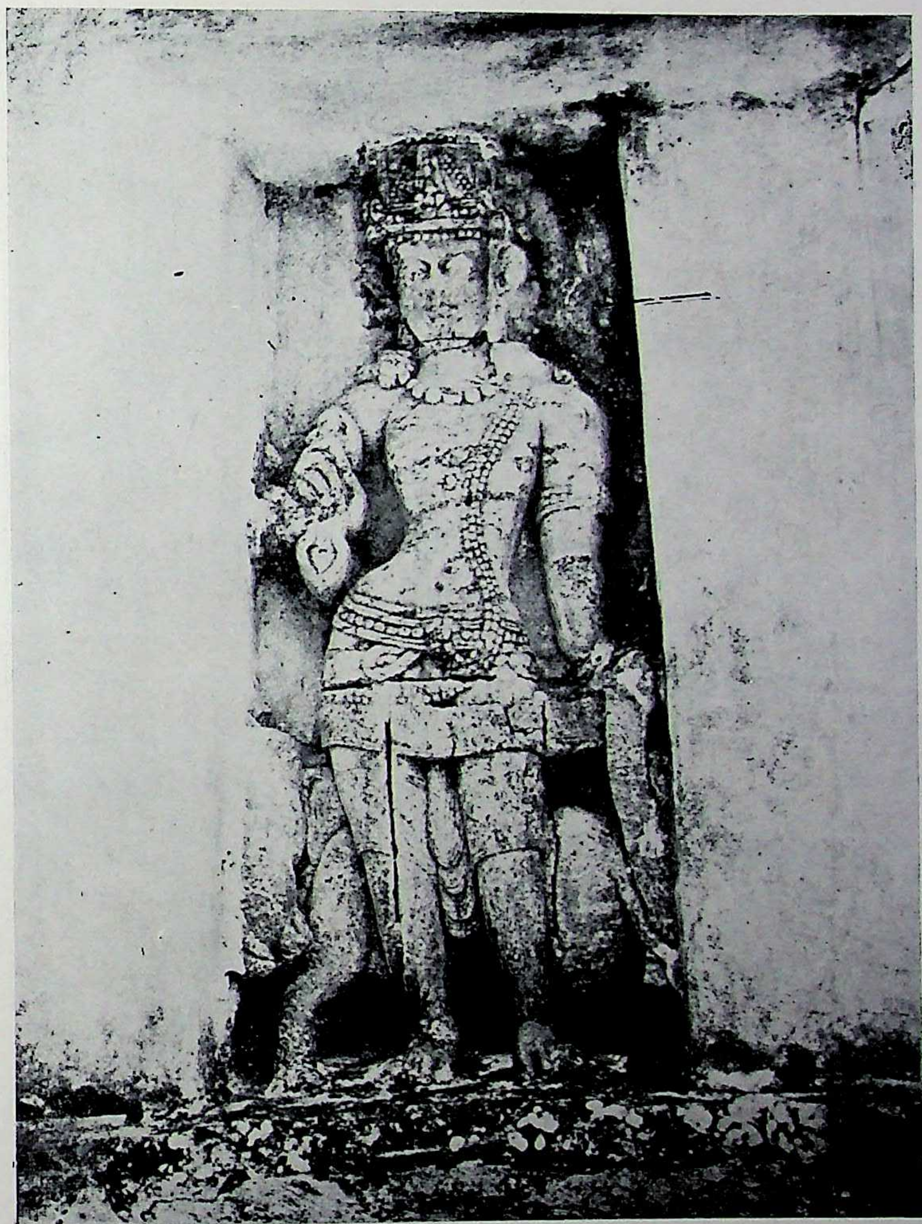
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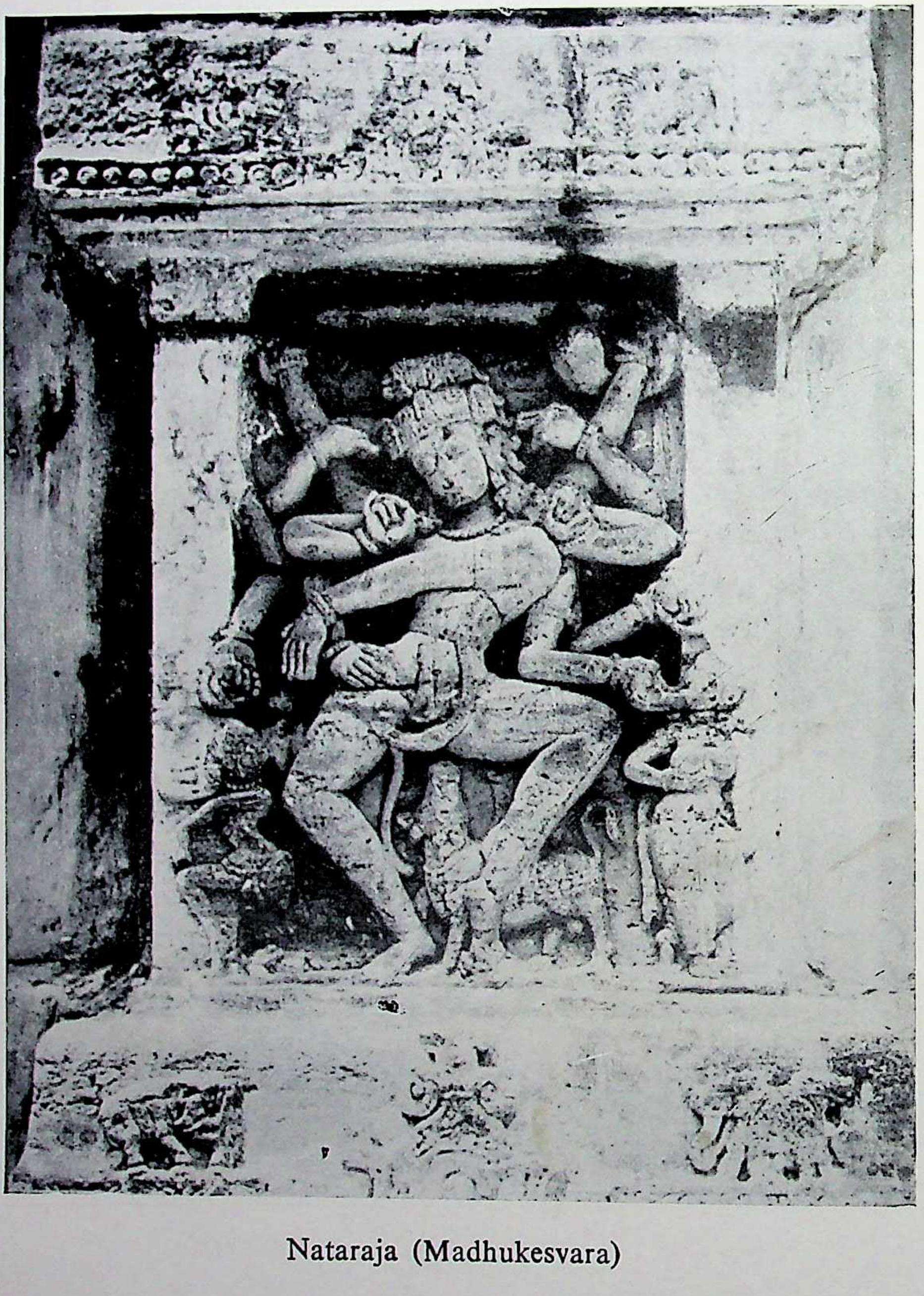
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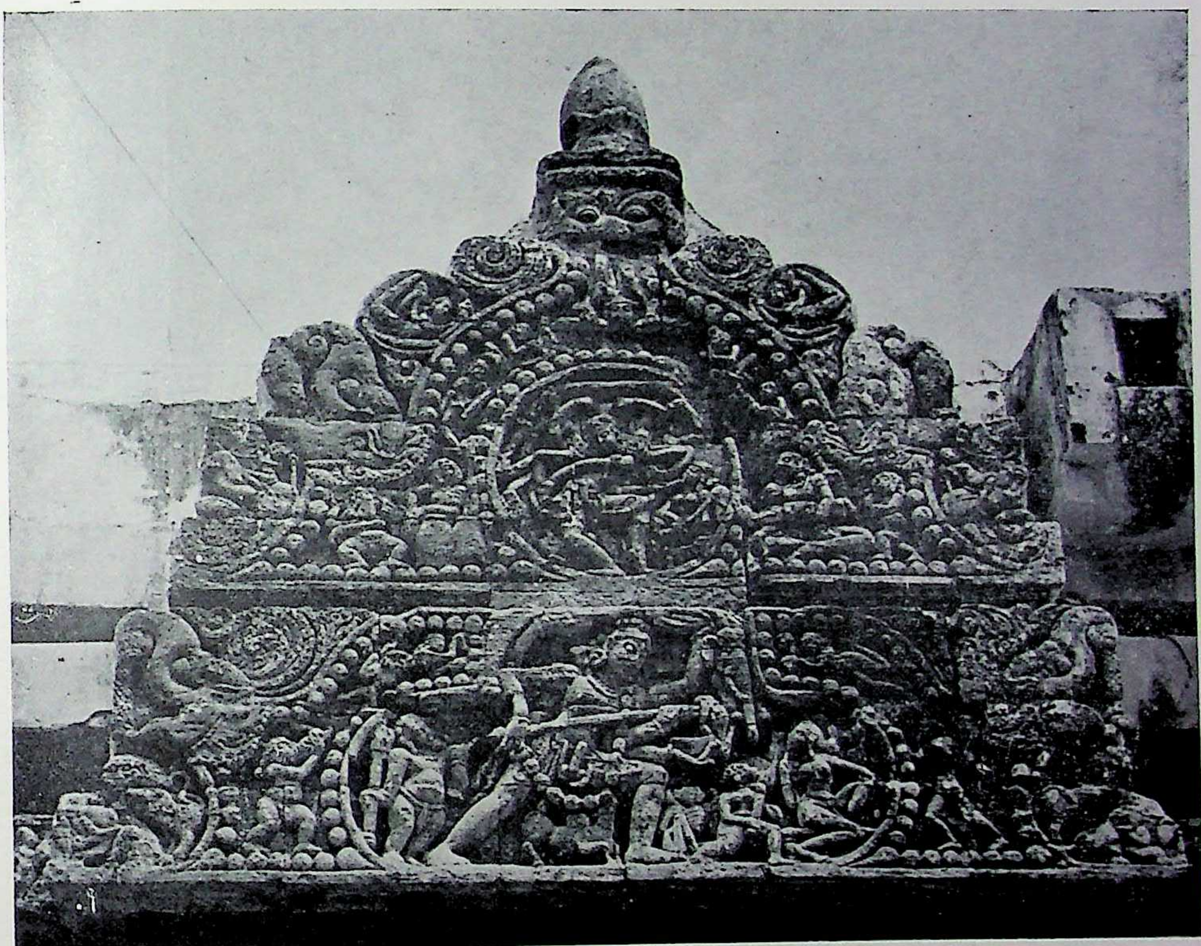
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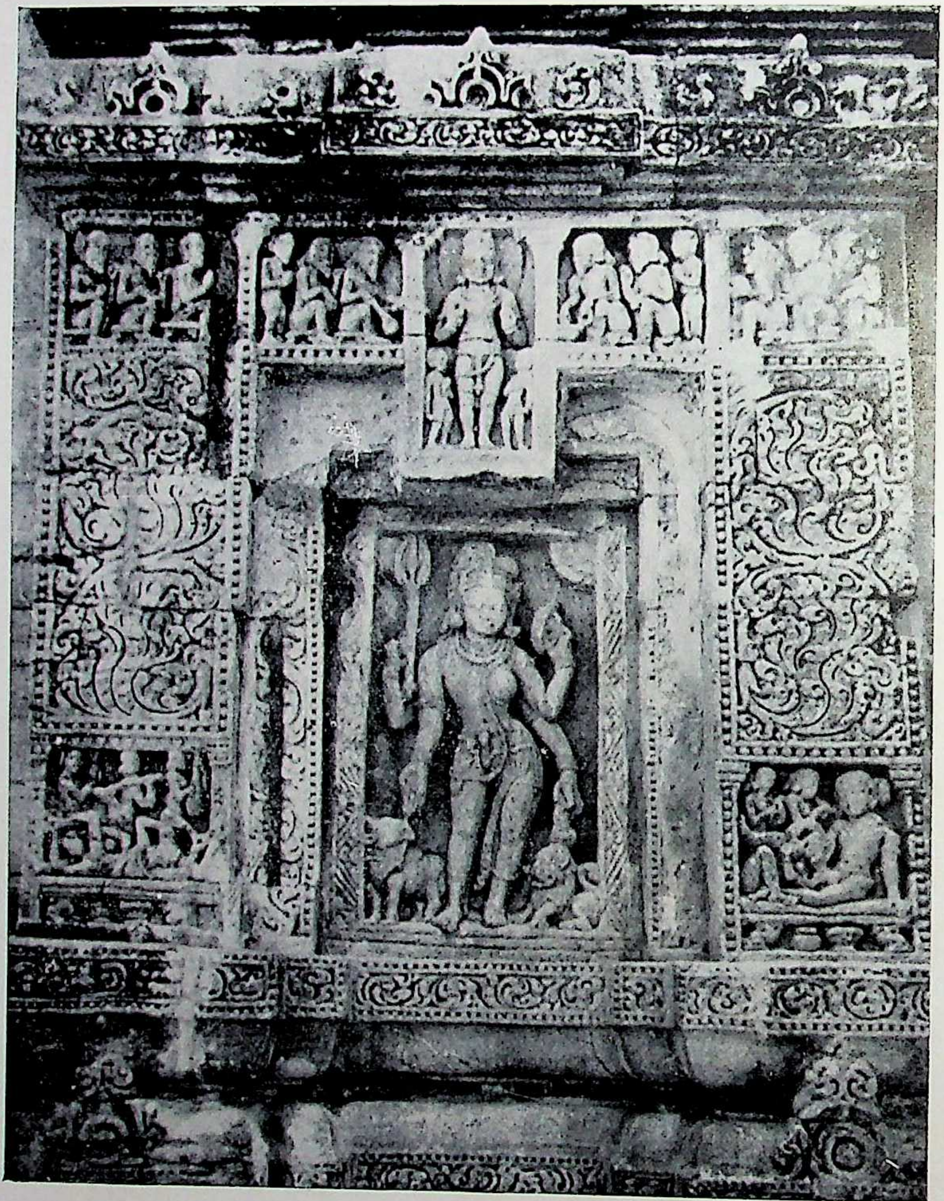
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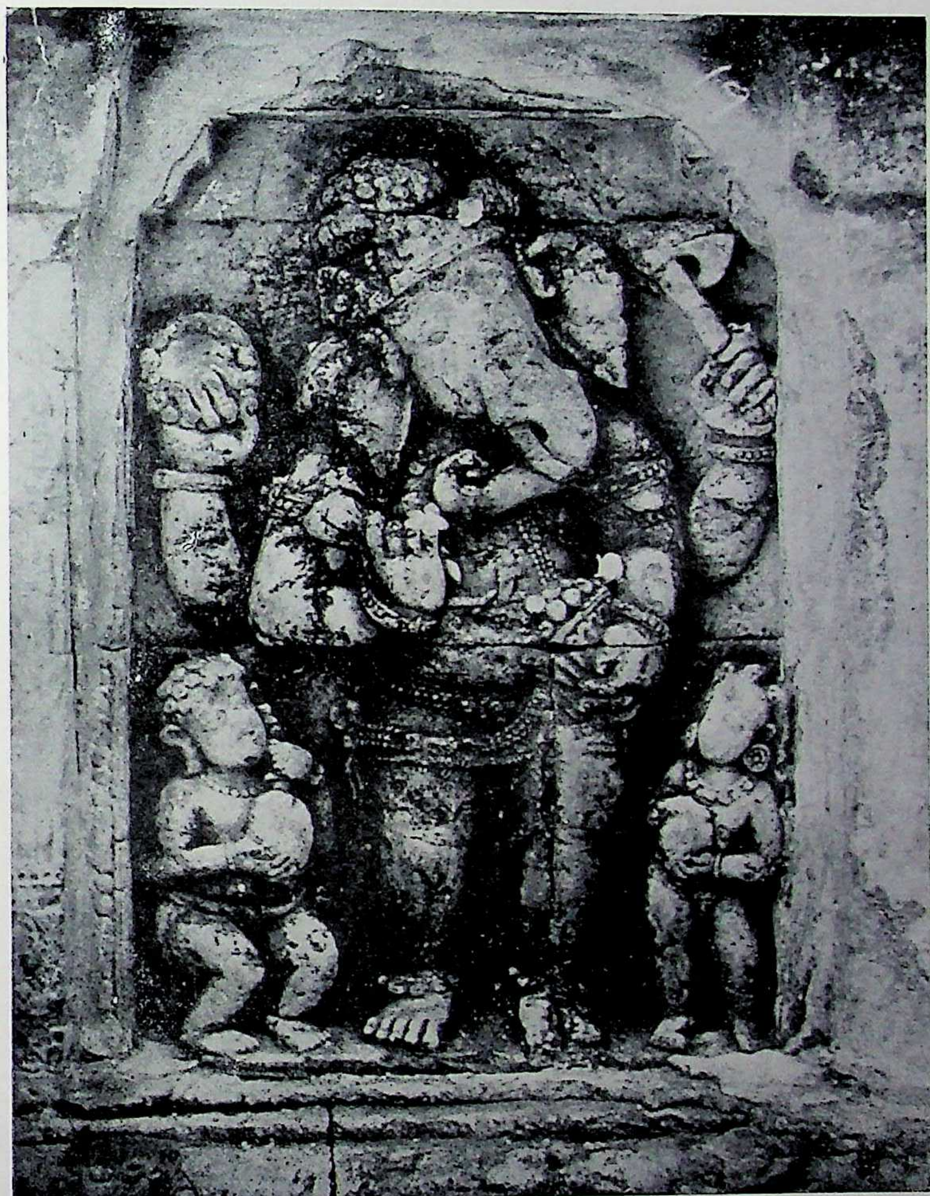
Nataraja (Madhukesvara)



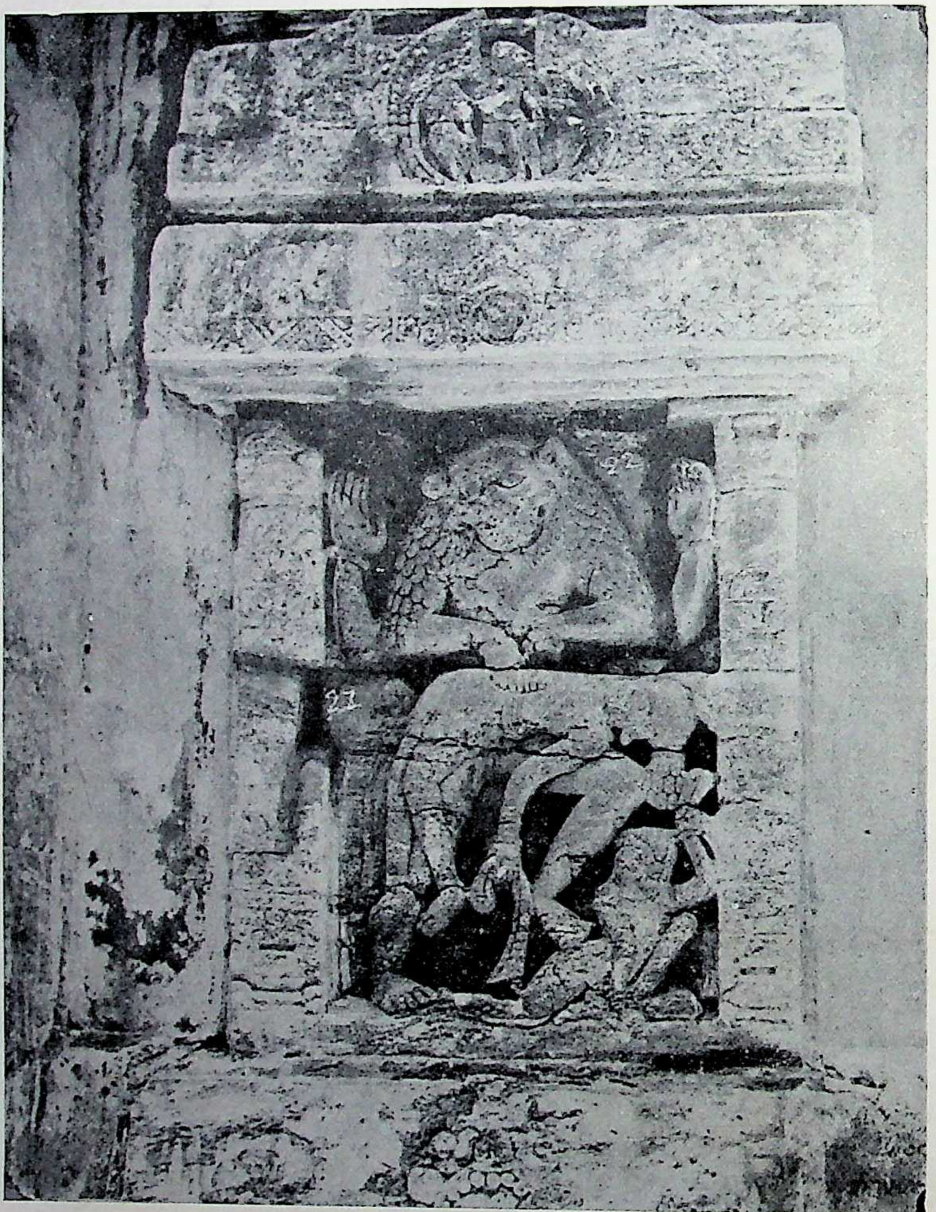
Nataraja and Andhajavadhamurti (Madhukesvara)



Ardhanarisvara (Somesvara)



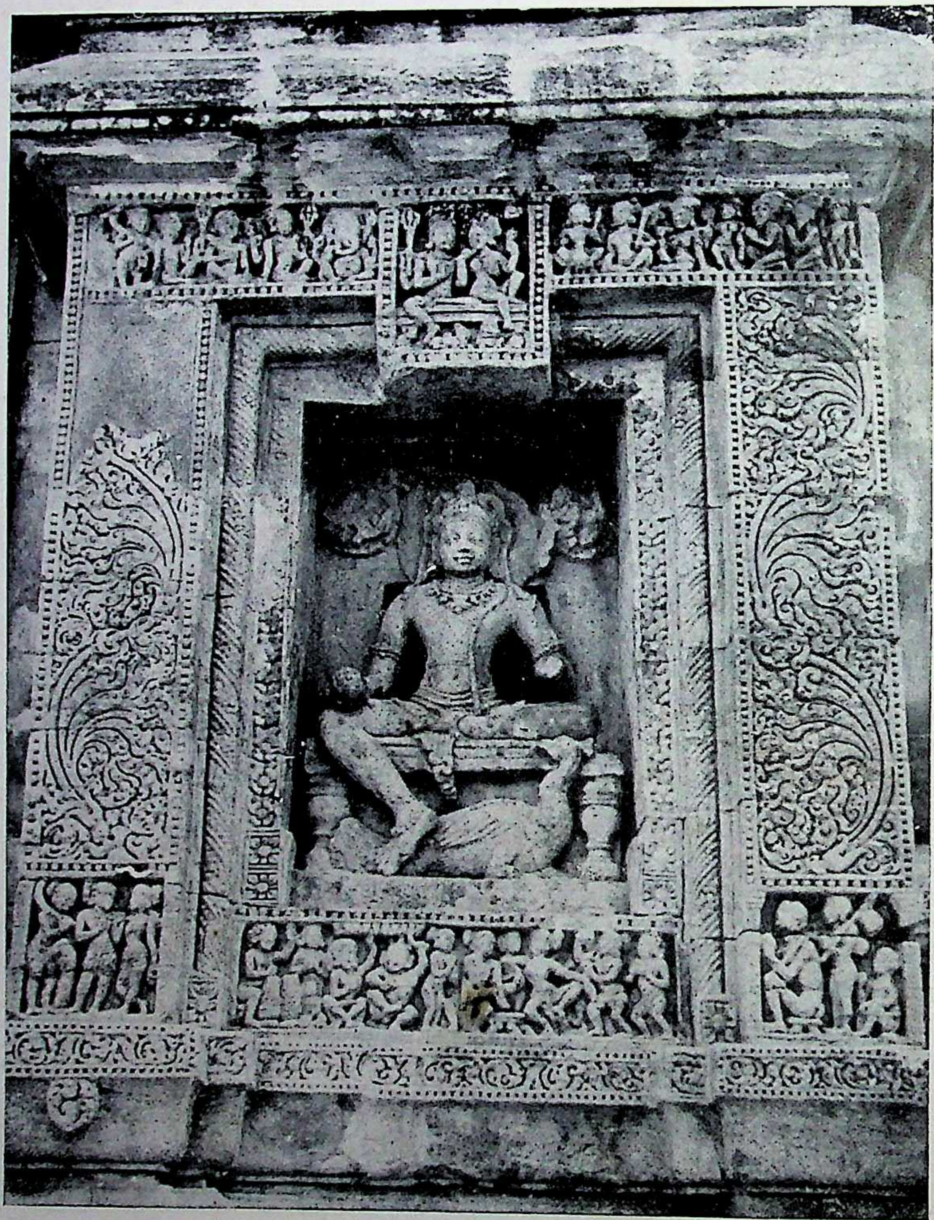
Ganesa (Madhukesvara)



Narsimha (Madhukesvara)



Ganga (Madhukesvara)



Lakulisa (Somesvara)